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LENIN

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PREFACE

Volume 20 contains the works of V. I. Lenin written between December 1913 and August 1914, with the exception of the article "Critical Remarks on the National Question", which was written somewhat earlier and published serially in October to December 1913.

The bulk of the volume is devoted to the Bolsheviks' struggle against opportunism in the Russian and international labour movement: against the liquidators, the Trotskyists, the *Vperyod* group, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the opportunists of the Second International. Among these are the articles: "The Break-up of the 'August' Bloc", "Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity", "Narodism and Liquidationism as Disintegrating Elements in the Working-Class Movement". "The Ideological Struggle in the Working-Class Movement", "The Vperyodists and the *Vperyod* Group", Report of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Brussels Conference and Instructions to the C.C. Delegation, "A Fool's Haste Is No Speed", "Comment on Kautsky's Letter".

The Bolshevik programme on the national question is elaborated in the articles "Critical Remarks on the National Question" and "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination".

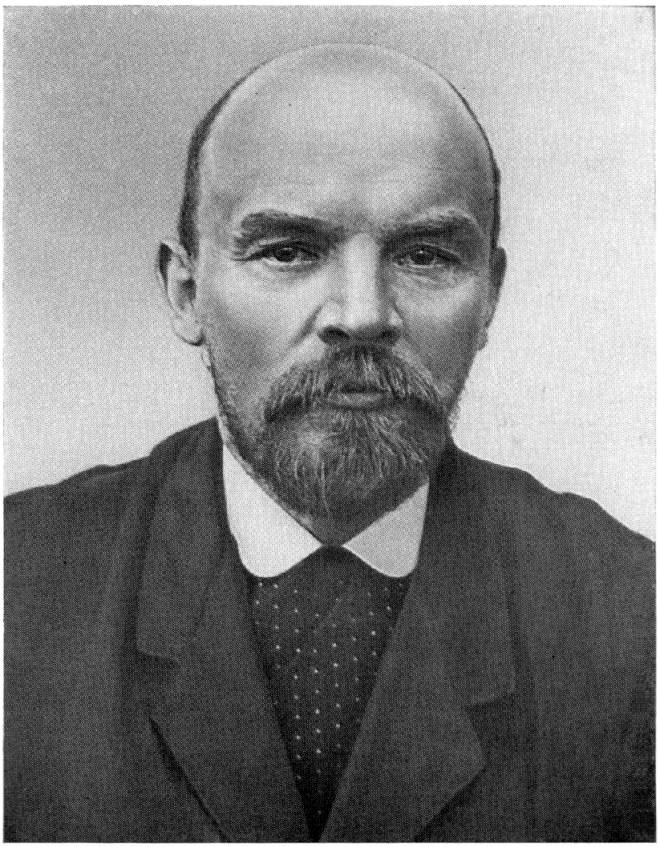
A conspicuous place in the volume is occupied by articles on the agrarian question, among them "The Peasantry and Hired Labour", "Serf Economy in the Rural Areas" and "The Agrarian Question in Russia".

Articles published for the first time in Lenin's *Collected Works* are "The Liquidators and the Decisions of the Lettish Marxists", "Reply to the Article in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*". In these articles Lenin denounces the liquidators'

attempts to distort Party decisions and conceal objective data concerning monetary contributions to the Marxist and liquidationist newspapers. Other articles included for the first time in the *Collected Works* are: "Bill on the Equality of Nations and the Safeguarding of the Rights of National Minorities", and "The Polish Social-Democratic Opposition at the Parting of the Ways". These were published previously in *Lenin Miscellany XXX*.

The Instructions to the Central Committee Delegation to the Brussels-Conference have been supplemented by a new letter of Lenin's.

In previous editions of the *Collected Works* the draft speech on "The Estimates of the Ministry of Agriculture" was published from the manuscript, four pages of which were missing. In the present edition the missing pages, which were found in 1941, have been restored.



V. I. Lenin
1914

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION[1]

Written in October-December 1913
Published in 1913 in the journal *Prosveshcheniye* Nos. 10, 11, and 12
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to the journal text

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Written in October-December 1913

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It is obvious that the national question has now become prominent among the problems of Russian public life. The aggressive nationalism of the reactionaries, the transition of counter-revolutionary bourgeois liberalism to nationalism (particularly Great-Russian, but also Polish, Jewish, Ukrainian, etc.), and lastly, the increase of nationalist vacillations among the different "national" (i.e., non-Great-Russian) Social-Democrats, who have gone to the length of violating the Party Programme—all these make it incumbent on us to give more attention to the national question than we have done so far.

This article pursues a special object, namely, to examine, in their general bearing, precisely these programme vacillations of Marxists and would-be Marxists, on the national question. In *Severnaya Pravda*[2] No. 29 (for September 5, 1913, "Liberals and Democrats on the Language Question"*) I had occasion to speak of the opportunism of the liberals on the national question; this article of mine was attacked by the opportunist Jewish newspaper *Zeit*,[3] in an article by Mr. F. Liebman. From the other side, the programme of the Russian Marxists on the national question had been criticised by the Ukrainian opportunist Mr. Lev Yurkevich (*Dzvin*,[4] 1913, Nos. 7-8). Both these writers touched upon so many questions that to reply to them we are obliged to deal with the most diverse aspects of the subject. I think the most convenient thing would be to start with a reprint of the article from *Severnaya Pravda*.

* See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 354-57.—*Ed.*

1. LIBERALS AND DEMOCRATS ON THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

On several occasions the newspapers have mentioned the report of the Governor of the Caucasus, a report that is noteworthy, not for its Black-Hundred[5] spirit, but for its timid "liberalism". Among other things, the Governor objects to artificial Russification of non-Russian nationalities. Representatives of non-Russian nationalities in the Caucasus are *themselves* striving to teach their children Russian; an example of this is the Armenian church schools, in which the teaching of Russian is not obligatory.

Russkoye Slovo[6] (No. 198), one of the most widely circulating liberal newspapers in Russia, points to this fact and draws the correct conclusion that the hostility towards the Russian language in Russia "stems exclusively from" the "artificial" (it should have said "forced") implanting of that language.

"There is no reason to worry about the fate of the Russian language. It will itself win recognition throughout Russia," says the newspaper. This is perfectly true, because the requirements of economic exchange will always compel the nationalities living in one state (as long as they wish to live together) to study the language of the majority. The more democratic the political system in Russia becomes, the more powerfully, rapidly and extensively capitalism will develop, the more urgently will the requirements of economic exchange impel various nationalities to study the language most convenient for general commercial relations.

The liberal newspaper, however, hastens to slap itself in the face and demonstrate its liberal inconsistency.

> "Even those who oppose Russification," it says, "would hardly be likely to deny that in a country as huge as Russia there must be one single official language, and that this language can be only Russian."

Logic turned inside out! Tiny Switzerland has not lost anything, but has gained from having not *one single* official language, but three—German, French and Italian. In Switzerland 70 per cent of the population are Germans (in Russia 43 per cent are Great Russians), 22 per cent French (in Russia 17 per cent are Ukrainians) and 7 per cent Italians (in Russia 6 per cent are Poles and 4.5 per cent Byelorus-

sians). If Italians in Switzerland often speak French in their common parliament they do not do so because they are menaced by some savage police law (there are none such in Switzerland), but because the civilised citizens of a democratic state themselves prefer a language that is understood by a majority. The French language does not instil hatred in Italians because it is the language of a free civilised nation, a language that is not imposed by disgusting police measures.

Why should "huge" Russia, a much more varied and terribly backward country, *inhibit* her development by the retention of any kind of privilege for any one language? Should not the contrary be true, liberal gentlemen? Should not Russia, if she wants to overtake Europe, put an end to every kind of privilege as quickly as possible, as completely as possible and as vigorously as possible?

If all privileges disappear, if the imposition of any one language ceases, all Slavs will easily and rapidly learn to understand each other and will not be frightened by the "horrible" thought that speeches in different languages will be heard in the common parliament. The requirements of economic exchange will themselves *decide* which language of the given country it is to the *advantage* of the majority to know in the interests of commercial relations. This decision will be all the firmer because it is adopted voluntarily by a population of various nationalities, and its adoption will be the more rapid and extensive the more consistent the democracy and, as a consequence of it, the more rapid the development of capitalism.

The liberals approach the language question in the same way as they approach all political questions—like hypocritical hucksters, holding out one hand (openly) to democracy and the other (behind their backs) to the feudalists and police. We are against privileges, shout the liberals, and under cover they haggle with the feudalists for first one, then another, privilege.

Such is the nature of *all* liberal-bourgeois nationalism—not only Great-Russian (it is the worst of them all because of its violent character and its kinship with the Purishkeviches[7]), but Polish, Jewish, Ukrainian, Georgian and every other nationalism. Under the slogan of "national culture"

the bourgeoisie of *all* nations, both in Austria and in Russia, are *in fact* pursuing the policy of splitting the workers, emasculating democracy and haggling with the feudalists over the sale of the people's rights and the people's liberty.

The slogan of working-class democracy is not "national culture" but the international culture of democracy and the world-wide working-class movement. Let the bourgeoisie deceive the people with various "positive" national programmes. The class-conscious worker will answer the bourgeoisie—there is only one solution to the national problem (insofar as it can, in general, be solved in the capitalist world, the world of profit, squabbling and exploitation), and that solution is consistent democracy.

The proof—Switzerland in Western Europe, a country with an old culture and Finland in Eastern Europe, a country with a young culture.

The national programme of working-class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language; the solution of the problem of the political self-determination of nations, that is, their separation as states by completely free, democratic methods; the promulgation of a law for the whole state by virtue of which any measure (rural, urban or communal, etc., etc.) introducing any privilege of any kind for one of the nations and militating against the equality of nations or the rights of a national minority, shall be declared illegal and ineffective, and any citizen of the state shall have the right to demand that such a measure be annulled as unconstitutional, and that those who attempt to put it into effect be punished.

Working-class democracy contraposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language, etc., the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers of *all* nationalities in *all* working-class organisations—trade union, co-operative, consumers', educational and all others—in contradistinction to any kind of bourgeois nationalism. Only this type of unity and amalgamation can uphold democracy and defend the interests of the workers against capital—which is already international and is becoming more so—and promote the development of mankind towards a new way of life that is alien to all privileges and all exploitation.

2. "NATIONAL CULTURE"

As the reader will see, the article in *Severnaya Pravda*, made use of a particular example, i.e., the problem of the official language to illustrate the inconsistency and opportunism of the liberal bourgeoisie, which, in the national question, extends a hand to the feudalists and the police. Everybody will understand that, apart from the problem of an official language, the liberal bourgeoisie behaves just as treacherously, hypocritically and stupidly (even from the standpoint of the interests of liberalism) in a number of other related issues.

The conclusion to be drawn from this? It is that *all* liberal-bourgeois nationalism sows the greatest corruption among the workers and does immense harm to the cause of freedom and the proletarian class struggle. This bourgeois (and bourgeois-feudalist) tendency is all the more dangerous for its *being concealed* behind the slogan of "national culture". It is under the guise of national culture—Great Russian, Polish, Jewish, Ukrainian, and so forth—that the Black-Hundreds and the clericals, and also the bourgeoisie of *all* nations, are doing their dirty and reactionary work.

Such are the facts of the national life of today, if viewed from the Marxist angle, i.e., from the standpoint of the class struggle, and if the slogans are compared with the interests and policies of classes, and not with meaningless "general principles", declamations and phrases.

The slogan of national culture is a bourgeois (and often also a Black-Hundred and clerical) fraud. Our slogan is: the international culture of democracy and of the world working-class movement.

Here the Bundist[8] Mr. Liebman rushes into the fray and annihilates me with the following deadly tirade:

"Anyone in the least familiar with the national question knows that international culture is not non-national culture (culture without a national form); non-national culture, which must not be Russian, Jewish, or Polish, but only pure culture, is nonsense, international ideas can appeal to the working class only when they are adapted to the language spoken by the worker, and to the concrete national conditions under which he lives; the worker should not be indifferent to the condition and development of his national culture, because

it is through it, and only through it, that he is able to participate in the 'international culture of democracy and of the world working-class movement'. This is well known, but V. I. turns a deaf ear to it all...."

Ponder over this typically Bundist argument, designed, if you please, to demolish the Marxist thesis that I advanced. With the air of supreme self-confidence of one who is "familiar with the national question", this Bundist passes off ordinary bourgeois views as "well-known" axioms.

It is true, my dear Bundist, that international culture is not non-national. Nobody said that it was. Nobody has proclaimed a "pure" culture, either Polish, Jewish, or Russian, etc., and your jumble of empty words is simply an attempt to distract the reader's attention and to obscure the issue with tinkling words.

The *elements* of democratic and socialist culture are present, if only in rudimentary form, in *every* national culture, since in *every* nation there are toiling and exploited masses, whose conditions of life inevitably give rise to the ideology of democracy and socialism. But *every* nation also possesses a bourgeois culture (and most nations a reactionary and clerical culture as well) in the form, not merely of "elements", but of the *dominant* culture. Therefore, the general "national culture" is the culture of the landlords, the clergy and the bourgeoisie. This fundamental and, for a Marxist, elementary truth, was kept in the background by the Bundist, who "drowned" it in his jumble of words, i.e., *instead of* revealing and clarifying the class gulf to the reader, he in fact obscured it. *In fact*, the Bundist acted like a bourgeois, whose every interest requires the spreading of a belief in a non-class national culture.

In advancing the slogan of "the international culture of democracy and of the world working-class movement", we take *from each* national culture *only* its democratic and socialist elements; we take them *only* and *absolutely* in opposition to the bourgeois culture and the bourgeois nationalism of *each* nation. No democrat, and certainly no Marxist, denies that all languages should have equal status, or that it is necessary to polemise with one's "native" bourgeoisie in one's native language and to advocate anti-clerical or anti-bourgeois ideas among one's "native" peasantry and

petty bourgeoisie. That goes without saying, but the Bundist uses these indisputable truths to obscure the point in dispute, i.e., the real issue.

The question is whether it is permissible for a Marxist, directly or indirectly, to advance the slogan of national culture, or whether he should *oppose* it by advocating, in all languages, the slogan of workers' *internationalism* while "adapting" himself to all local and national features.

The significance of the "national culture" slogan is not determined by some petty intellectual's promise, or good intention, to "interpret" it as "meaning the development through it of an international culture". It would be puerile subjectivism to look at it in that way. The significance of the slogan of national culture is determined by the objective alignment of all classes in a given country, and in all countries of the world. The national culture of the bourgeoisie is a *fact* (and, I repeat, the bourgeoisie everywhere enters into deals with the landed proprietors and the clergy). Aggressive bourgeois nationalism, which drugs the minds of the workers, stultifies and disunites them in order that the bourgeoisie may lead them by the halter—such is the fundamental fact of the times.

Those who seek to serve the proletariat must unite the workers of all nations, and unswervingly fight bourgeois nationalism, *domestic* and foreign. The place of those who advocate the slogan of national culture is among the nationalist petty bourgeois, not among the Marxists.

Take a concrete example. Can a Great-Russian Marxist accept the slogan of national, Great-Russian, culture? No, he cannot. Anyone who does that should stand in the ranks of the nationalists, not of the Marxists. Our task is to fight the dominant, Black-Hundred and bourgeois national culture of the Great Russians, and to develop, exclusively in the internationalist spirit and in the closest alliance with the workers of other countries, the rudiments also existing in the history of our democratic and working-class movement. Fight your own Great-Russian landlords and bourgeoisie, fight their "culture" in the name of internationalism, and, in so fighting, "adapt" yourself to the special features of the Purishkeviches and Struves—that is your

task, not preaching or tolerating the slogan of national culture.

The same applies to the most oppressed and persecuted nation—the Jews. Jewish national culture is the slogan of the rabbis and the bourgeoisie, the slogan of our enemies. But there are other elements in Jewish culture and in Jewish history as a whole. Of the ten and a half million Jews in the world, somewhat over a half live in Galicia and Russia, backward and semi-barbarous countries, where the Jews are *forcibly* kept in the status of a caste. The other half lives in the civilised world, and there the Jews do not live as a segregated caste. There the great world-progressive features of Jewish culture stand clearly revealed: its internationalism, its identification with the advanced movements of the epoch (the percentage of Jews in the democratic and proletarian movements is everywhere higher than the percentage of Jews among the population).

Whoever, directly or indirectly, puts forward the slogan of Jewish "national culture" is (whatever his good intentions may be) an enemy of the proletariat, a supporter of all that is *outmoded* and connected with *caste* among the Jewish people; he is an accomplice of the rabbis and the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, those Jewish Marxists who mingle with the Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian and other workers in international Marxist organisations, and make their contribution (both in Russian and in Yiddish) towards creating the international culture of the working-class movement—those Jews, despite the separatism of the Bund, uphold the best traditions of Jewry by fighting the slogan of "national culture".

Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism—these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world, and express the *two* policies (nay, the two world outlooks) in the national question. In advocating the slogan of national culture and building up on it an entire plan and practical programme of what they call "cultural-national autonomy", the Bundists are *in effect* instruments of bourgeois nationalism among the workers.

3. THE NATIONALIST BOGEY OF "ASSIMILATION"

The question of assimilation, i.e., of the shedding of national features, and absorption by another nation, strikingly illustrates the consequences of the nationalist vacillations of the Bundists and their fellow-thinkers.

Mr. Liebman, who faithfully conveys and repeats the stock arguments, or rather, tricks, of the Bundists, has qualified as "the *old assimilation story*" the demand for the unity and amalgamation of the workers of all nationalities in a given country in united workers' organisations (see the concluding part of the article in *Severnaya Pravda*).

"Consequently," says Mr. F. Liebman, commenting on the concluding part of the article in *Severnaya Pravda*, "if asked what nationality he belongs to, the worker must answer: I am a Social-Democrat."

Our Bundist considers this the acme of wit. As a matter of fact, he gives himself away completely by *such* witticisms and outcries about "assimilation", *levelled against* a consistently democratic and *Marxist* slogan.

Developing capitalism knows two historical tendencies in the national question. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the break-down of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc.

Both tendencies are a universal law of capitalism. The former predominates in the beginning of its development, the latter characterises a mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society. The Marxists' national programme takes both tendencies into account, and advocates, firstly, the equality of nations and languages and the impermissibility of all *privileges* in this respect (and also the right of nations to self-determination, with which we shall deal separately later); secondly, the principle of internationalism and uncompromising struggle against contamination of the proletariat with bourgeois nationalism, even of the most refined kind.

The question arises: what does our Bundist mean when he cries out to heaven against "assimilation"? He *could not* have meant the oppression of nations, or the *privileges* enjoyed by a particular nation, because the word "assimilation" here does not fit at all, because all Marxists, individually, and as an official, united whole, have quite definitely and unambiguously condemned the slightest violence against and oppression and inequality of nations, and finally because this general Marxist idea, which the Bundist has attacked, is expressed in the *Severnaya Pravda* article in the most emphatic manner.

No, evasion is impossible here. In condemning "assimilation" Mr. Liebman had in mind, *not* violence, *not* inequality, and *not* privileges. Is there anything real left in the concept of assimilation, after all violence and all inequality have been eliminated?

Yes, there undoubtedly is. What is left is capitalism's world-historical tendency to break down national barriers, obliterate national distinctions, and to *assimilate* nations—a tendency which manifests itself more and more powerfully with every passing decade, and is one of the greatest driving forces transforming capitalism into socialism.

Whoever does not recognise and champion the equality of nations and languages, and does not fight against all national oppression or inequality, is not a Marxist; he is not even a democrat. That is beyond doubt. But it is also beyond doubt that the pseudo-Marxist who heaps abuse upon a Marxist of another nation for being an "assimilator" is simply a *nationalist philistine*. In this unhandsome category of people are all the Bundists and (as we shall shortly see) Ukrainian nationalist-socialists such as L. Yurkevich, Dontsov and Co.

To show concretely how reactionary the views held by these nationalist philistines are, we shall cite facts of three kinds.

It is the Jewish nationalists in Russia in general, and the Bundists in particular, who vociferate most about Russian orthodox Marxists being "assimilators". And yet, as the afore-mentioned figures show, out of the ten and a half million Jews all over the world, *about half* that number live in the *civilised* world, where conditions favouring

"assimilation" are *strongest*, whereas the unhappy, downtrodden, disfranchised Jews in Russia and Galicia, who are crushed under the heel of the Purishkeviches (Russian and Polish), live where conditions for "assimilation" *least* prevail, where there is most segregation, and even a "Pale of Settlement",[9] a *numerus clausus*[10] and other charming features of the Purishkevich regime.

The Jews in the civilised world are not a nation, they have in the main become assimilated, say Karl Kautsky and Otto Bauer. The Jews in Galicia and in Russia are not a nation; unfortunately (through *no* fault of their own but through that of the Purishkeviches), they are still a *caste* here. Such is the incontrovertible judgement of people who are undoubtedly familiar with the history of Jewry and take the above-cited facts into consideration.

What do these facts prove? It is that only Jewish reactionary philistines, who want to turn back the wheel of history, and make it proceed, not from the conditions prevailing in Russia and Galicia to those prevailing in Paris and New York, but in the reverse direction—only they can clamour against "assimilation".

The best Jews, those who are celebrated in world history, and have given the world foremost leaders of democracy and socialism, have never clamoured against assimilation. It is only those who contemplate the "rear aspect" of Jewry with reverential awe that clamour against assimilation.

A rough idea of the scale which the general process of assimilation of nations is assuming under the present conditions of advanced capitalism may be obtained, for example, from the immigration statistics of the United States of America. During the decade between 1891-1900, Europe sent 3,700,000 people there, and during the nine years between 1901 and 1909, 7,200,000. The 1900 census in the United States recorded over 10,000,000 foreigners. New York State, in which, according to the same census; there were over 78,000 Austrians, 136,000 Englishmen, 20,000 Frenchmen, 480,000 Germans, 37,000 Hungarians, 425,000 Irish 182,000 Italians, 70,000 Poles, 166,000 people from Russia (mostly Jews), 43,000 Swedes, etc., grinds down national distinctions. And what is taking place on a grand,

international scale in New York is also to be seen in *every* big city and industrial township.

No one unobsessed by nationalist prejudices can fail to perceive that this process of assimilation of nations by capitalism means the greatest historical progress, the breakdown of hidebound national conservatism in the various backwoods, especially in backward countries like Russia.

Take Russia and the attitude of Great Russians towards the Ukrainians. Naturally, every democrat, not to mention Marxists, will strongly oppose the incredible humiliation of Ukrainians, and demand complete equality for them. But it would be a downright betrayal of socialism and a silly policy *even* from the standpoint of the bourgeois "national aims" of the Ukrainians to *weaken* the ties and the alliance between the Ukrainian and Great-Russian proletariat that now exist within the confines of a single state.

Mr. Lev Yurkevich, who calls himself a "Marxist" (poor Marx!), is an example of that silly policy. In 1906, Sokolovsky (Basok) and Lukashevich (Tuchapsky) asserted, Mr. Yurkevich writes, that the Ukrainian proletariat had become completely Russified and needed no separate organisation. Without quoting a single fact *bearing on the direct issue*, Mr. Yurkevich falls upon both for saying this and cries out hysterically—quite in the spirit of the basest, most stupid and most reactionary nationalism—that this is "national passivity", "national renunciation", that these men have "split [!!] the Ukrainian Marxists", and so forth. Today, despite the "growth of Ukrainian national consciousness among the workers", the *minority* of the workers are "nationally conscious", while the majority, Mr. Yurkevich assures us, "are still under the influence of Russian culture". And it is our duty, this nationalist philistine exclaims, "not to follow the masses, but to lead them, to explain to them their national aims (*natsionalna sprava*)" (*Dzvin*, p. 89).

This argument of Mr. Yurkevich's is wholly bourgeois-nationalistic. But even from the point of view of the bourgeois nationalists, some of whom stand for complete equality and autonomy for the Ukraine, while others stand for an independent Ukrainian state, this argument will not wash. The Ukrainians' striving for liberation is opposed by the

Great-Russian and Polish landlord class and by the bourgeoisie of these two nations. What social force is capable of standing up to these classes? The first decade of the twentieth century provided an actual reply to this question: that force is none other than the working class, which rallies the democratic peasantry behind it. By striving to divide, and thereby weaken, the genuinely democratic force, whose victory would make national oppression impossible, Mr. Yurkevich is betraying, not only the interests of democracy in general, but also the interests of his own country, the Ukraine. Given united action by the Great-Russian and Ukrainian proletarians, a free Ukraine *is possible*; without such unity, it is out of the question.

But Marxists do not confine themselves to the bourgeois-national standpoint. For several decades a well-defined process of accelerated economic development has been going on in the South, i.e., the Ukraine, attracting hundreds of thousands of peasants and workers from Great Russia to the capitalist farms, mines, and cities. The "assimilation"—within these limits—of the Great-Russian and Ukrainian proletariat is an indisputable fact. *And this* fact is *undoubtedly* progressive. Capitalism is replacing the ignorant, conservative, settled muzhik of the Great-Russian or Ukrainian backwoods with a mobile proletarian whose conditions of life break down specifically national narrow-mindedness, both Great-Russian and Ukrainian. Even if we assume that, in time, there will be a state frontier between Great Russia and the Ukraine, the historically progressive nature of the "assimilation" of the Great-Russian and Ukrainian workers will be as undoubted as the progressive nature of the grinding down of nations in America. The freer the Ukraine and Great Russia become, the *more extensive and more rapid* will be the development of capitalism, which will still more powerfully attract the workers, the working masses of *all* nations from all regions of the state and from all the neighbouring states (should Russia become a neighbouring state in relation to the Ukraine) to the cities, the mines, and the factories.

Mr. Lev Yurkevich acts like a real bourgeois, and a short-sighted, narrow-minded, obtuse bourgeois at that, i.e., like a philistine, when he dismisses the benefits to be

gained from the intercourse, amalgamation and assimilation of the *proletariat* of the two nations, for the sake of the momentary success of the Ukrainian national cause (*sprava*). The national cause comes first and the proletarian cause second, the bourgeois nationalists say, with the Yurkeviches, Dontsovs and similar would-be Marxists repeating it after them. The proletarian cause must come first, we say, because it not only protects the lasting and fundamental interests of labour and of humanity, but also those of democracy; and without democracy neither an autonomous nor an independent Ukraine is conceivable.

Another point to be noted in Mr. Yurkevich's argument, which is so extraordinarily rich in nationalist gems, is this: the minority of Ukrainian workers are nationally conscious, he says; "the majority are still under the influence of Russian culture" (*bilshist perebuvaye shche pid vplyvom rosiiskoi kultury*).

Contraposing Ukrainian culture as a whole to Great-Russian culture as a whole, when speaking of the proletariat, is a gross betrayal of the proletariat's interests for the benefit of bourgeois nationalism.

There are two nations in every modern nation—we say to all nationalist-socialists. There are two national cultures in every national culture. There is the Great-Russian culture of the Purishkeviches, Guchkovs and Struves—but there is also the Great-Russian culture typified in the names of Chernyshevsky and Plekhanov. There are *the same two* cultures in the Ukraine as there are in Germany, in France, in England, among the Jews, and so forth. If the majority of the Ukrainian workers are under the influence of Great-Russian culture, we also know definitely that the ideas of Great-Russian democracy and Social-Democracy operate parallel with the Great-Russian clerical and bourgeois culture. In fighting the latter kind of "culture", the Ukrainian *Marxist* will always bring the former into focus, and say to his workers: "We must snatch at, make use of, and develop to the utmost every opportunity for intercourse with the Great-Russian class-conscious workers, with their literature and with their range of ideas; the fundamental interests of *both* the Ukrainian and the Great-Russian working-class movements demand it."

If a Ukrainian Marxist allows himself to be swayed by his *quite legitimate and natural* hatred of the Great-Russian oppressors *to such a degree* that he transfers even a particle of this hatred, even if it be only estrangement, to the proletarian culture and proletarian cause of the Great-Russian workers, then such a Marxist will get bogged down in bourgeois nationalism. Similarly, the Great-Russian Marxists will be bogged down, not only in bourgeois, but also in Black-Hundred nationalism, if he loses sight, even for a moment, of the demand for complete equality for the Ukrainians, or of their *right* to form an independent state.

The Great-Russian and Ukrainian workers must work together, and, as long as they live in a single state, act in the closest organisational unity and concert, towards a common or international culture of the proletarian movement, displaying absolute tolerance in the question of the language in which propaganda is conducted, and in the purely local or purely national *details* of that propaganda. This is the imperative demand of Marxism. All advocacy of the segregation of the workers of one nation from those of another, all attacks upon Marxist "assimilation", or attempts, where the proletariat is concerned, to contrapose one national culture as a whole to another allegedly integral national culture, and so forth, is *bourgeois* nationalism, against which it is essential to wage a ruthless struggle.

4. "CULTURAL-NATIONAL AUTONOMY"

The question of the "national culture" slogan is of enormous importance to Marxists, not only because it determines the ideological content of all our propaganda and agitation on the national question, as distinct from bourgeois propaganda, but also because the entire programme of the much-discussed cultural-national autonomy is based on this slogan.

The main and fundamental law in this programme is that it aims at introducing the most refined, most absolute and most extreme nationalism. The gist of this programme is that every citizen registers as belonging to a particular nation, and every nation constitutes a legal entity with the right to impose compulsory taxation on its members,

with national parliaments (Diets) and national secretaries of state (ministers).

Such an idea, applied to the national question, resembles Proudhon's idea, as applied to capitalism. Not abolishing capitalism and its basis—commodity production—but *purging* that basis of abuses, of excrescences, and so forth; not abolishing exchange and exchange value, but, on the contrary, making it "constitutional", universal, absolute, "*fair*", and free of fluctuations, crises and abuses—such was Proudhon's idea.

Just as Proudhon was petty-bourgeois, and his theory converted exchange and commodity production into an absolute category and exalted them as the acme of perfection, so is the theory and programme of "cultural-national autonomy" petty bourgeois, for it converts bourgeois nationalism into an absolute category, exalts it as the acme of perfection, and purges it of violence, injustice, etc.

Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the "most just", "purest", most refined and civilised brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism, the amalgamation of all nations in the higher unity, a unity that is growing before our eyes with every mile of railway line that is built, with every international trust, and every workers' association that is formed (an association that is international in its economic activities as well as in its ideas and aims).

The principle of nationality is historically inevitable in bourgeois society and, taking this society into due account, the Marxist fully recognises the historical legitimacy of national movements. But to prevent this recognition from becoming an apologia of nationalism, it must be strictly limited to what is progressive in such movements, in order that this recognition may not lead to bourgeois ideology obscuring proletarian consciousness.

The awakening of the masses from feudal lethargy, and their struggle against all national oppression, for the sovereignty of the people, of the nation, are progressive. Hence, it is the Marxist's *bounden* duty to stand for the most resolute and consistent democratism on all aspects of the national question. This task is largely a negative one. But this is the limit the proletariat can go to in supporting nationalism,

for beyond that begins the "positive" activity of the *bourgeoisie* striving to *fortify* nationalism.

To throw off the feudal yoke, all national oppression, and all privileges enjoyed by any particular nation or language, is the imperative duty of the proletariat as a democratic force, and is certainly in the interests of the proletarian class struggle, which is obscured and retarded by bickering on the national question. But to go *beyond* these strictly limited and definite historical limits in helping bourgeois nationalism means betraying the proletariat and siding with the bourgeoisie. There is a border-line here, which is often very slight and which the Bundists and Ukrainian nationalist-socialists completely lose sight of.

Combat all national oppression? Yes, of course! Fight *for* any kind of national development, *for* "national culture" in general?—Of course not. The economic development of capitalist society presents us with examples of immature national movements all over the world, examples of the formation of big nations out of a number of small ones, or to the detriment of some of the small ones, and also examples of the assimilation of nations. The development of nationality in general is the principle of bourgeois nationalism; hence the exclusiveness of bourgeois nationalism, hence the endless national bickering. The proletariat, however, far from undertaking to uphold the national development of every nation, on the contrary, warns the masses against such illusions, stands for the fullest freedom of capitalist intercourse and welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations, except that which is founded on force or privilege.

Consolidating nationalism within a certain "justly" delimited sphere, "constitutionalising" nationalism, and securing the separation of all nations from one another by means of a special state institution—such is the ideological foundation and content of cultural-national autonomy. This idea is thoroughly bourgeois and thoroughly false. The proletariat cannot support any consecration of nationalism; on the contrary, it supports everything that helps to obliterate national distinctions and remove national barriers; it supports everything that makes the ties between nationalities closer and closer, or tends to merge nations. To

act differently means siding with reactionary nationalist philistinism.

When, at their Congress in Brünn[11] (in 1899), the Austrian Social-Democrats discussed the plan for cultural-national autonomy, practically no attention was paid to a theoretical appraisal of that plan. It is, however, noteworthy that the following two arguments were levelled against this programme: (1) it would tend to strengthen clericalism; (2) "its result would be the perpetuation of chauvinism, its introduction into every small community, into every small group" (p. 92 of the official report of the Brünn Congress, in German. A Russian translation was published by the Jewish nationalist party, the J.S.L.P.[12]).

There can be no doubt that "national culture", in the ordinary sense of the term, i.e., schools, etc., is at present under the predominant influence of the clergy and the bourgeois chauvinists in all countries in the world. When the Bundists, in advocating "cultural-national" autonomy, say that the constituting of nations will keep the class struggle within them *clean* of all extraneous considerations, then that is manifest and ridiculous sophistry. It is primarily in the economic and political sphere that a serious class struggle is waged in any capitalist society. To separate the sphere of education *from this* is, firstly, absurdly utopian, because schools (like "national culture" in general) cannot be separated from economics and politics; secondly, it is the economic and political life of a capitalist country that *necessitates* at every step the smashing of the absurd and outmoded national barriers and prejudices, whereas separation of the school system and the like, would only perpetuate, intensify and strengthen "pure" clericalism and "pure" bourgeois chauvinism.

On the boards of joint-stock companies we find capitalists of different nations sitting together in complete harmony. At the factories workers of different nations work side by side. In any really serious and profound political issue sides are taken according to classes, not nations. Withdrawing school education and the like from state control and placing it under the control of the nations is in effect an attempt to *separate* from economics, which unites the nations, the most highly, so to speak, ideological sphere of social

iife, the sphere in which "pure" national culture or the national cultivation of clericalism and chauvinism has the freest play.

In practice, the plan for "extra-territorial" or "cultural-national" autonomy could mean only one thing: *the division of educational affairs according to nationality*, i.e., the introduction of national curias in school affairs. Sufficient thought to the *real* significance of the famous Bund plan will enable one to realise how utterly reactionary it is even from the standpoint of democracy, let alone from that of the proletarian class struggle for socialism.

A single instance and a single scheme for the "nationalisation" of the school system will make this point abundantly clear. In the United States of America the division of the States into Northern and Southern holds to this day in all departments of life; the former possess the greatest traditions of freedom and of struggle against the slave-owners; the latter possess the greatest traditions of slave-ownership, survivals of persecution of the Negroes, who are economically oppressed and culturally backward (44 per cent of Negroes are illiterate, and 6 per cent of whites), and so forth. In the Northern States Negro children attend the same schools as white children do. In the South there are separate "national", or racial, whichever you please, schools for Negro children. I think that this is the sole instance of actual "nationalisation" of schools.

In Eastern Europe there exists a country where things like the Beilis case[13] are still possible, and Jews are condemned by the Purishkeviches to a condition worse than that of the Negroes. In that country a scheme for *nationalising Jewish schools* was recently mooted in the Ministry. Happily, this reactionary utopia is no more likely to be realised than the utopia of the Austrian petty bourgeoisie, who have despaired of achieving consistent democracy or of putting an end to national bickering, and have invented for the nations school-education *compartments* to keep them from bickering *over the distribution* of schools ... but have "constituted" themselves for an *eternal* bickering of one "national culture" with another.

In Austria, the idea of cultural-national autonomy has remained largely a flight of literary fancy, which the Austrian

Social-Democrats themselves have not taken seriously. In Russia, however, it has been incorporated in the programmes of all the Jewish bourgeois parties, and of several petty-bourgeois, opportunist elements in the different nations—for example, the Bundists, the liquidators in the Caucasus, and the conference of Russian national parties of the Left-Narodnik trend. (This conference, we will mention parenthetically, took place in 1907, its decision being adopted *with abstention* on the part of the Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries[14] and the P.S.P.,[15] the Polish social-patriots. Abstention from voting is a method surprisingly characteristic of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and P.S.P., when they want to show their attitude towards a most important question of principle in the sphere of the national programme!)

In Austria it was Otto Bauer, the principal theoretician of "cultural-national autonomy", who devoted a special chapter of his book to prove that such a programme cannot possibly be proposed for the Jews. In Russia, however, it is precisely among the Jews that all the bourgeois parties—and the Bund which echoes them—have adopted this programme.* What does this go to show? It goes to show that history, through the political practice of another state, has exposed the absurdity of Bauer's invention, in exactly the same way as the Russian Bernsteinians (Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky, Berdayev and Co.), through their rapid evolu-

* That the Bundists often vehemently deny that *all* the Jewish bourgeois parties have accepted "cultural-national autonomy" is understandable. This fact only too glaringly exposes the actual role being played by the Bund. When Mr. Manin, a Bundist, tried, in *Luch*,[16] to repeat his denial, he was fully exposed by N. Skop (see *Prosveshcheniye* No. 3[17]) But when Mr. Lev Yurkevich, in *Dzvin* (1913, Nos. 7-8, p. 92), quotes from *Prosveshcheniye* (No. 3, p. 78) N. Sk.'s statement that "the Bundists together with all the Jewish bourgeois parties and groups have long been advocating cultural-national autonomy" and *distorts* this statement by *dropping* the word "Bundists" and *substituting* the words "national rights" for the words "cultural-national autonomy", one can only raise one's hands in amazement! Mr. Lev Yurkevich is not only a nationalist, not only an astonishing ignoramus in matters concerning the history of the Social-Democrats and their programme, but a *downright falsifier of quotations* for the benefit of the Bund. The affairs of the Bund and the Yurkeviches must be in a bad way indeed!

tion from Marxism to liberalism, have exposed the real ideological content of the German Bernsteinism.[18]

Neither the Austrian nor the Russian Social-Democrats have incorporated "cultural-national" autonomy in their programme. However, the Jewish bourgeois parties in a most backward country, and a number of petty-bourgeois, so-called socialist groups *have adopted it* in order to spread ideas of bourgeois nationalism among the working class in a refined form. This fact speaks for itself.

Since we have had to touch upon the Austrian programme on the national question, we must reassert a truth which is often distorted by the Bundists. At the Brünn Congress a *pure* programme of "cultural-national autonomy" *was* presented. This was the programme of the South-Slav Social-Democrats, §2 of which reads: "Every nation living in Austria, irrespective of the territory occupied by its members, constitutes an autonomous group which manages all its national (language and cultural) affairs quite independently." This programme was supported, not only by Kristan but by the influential Ellenbogen. But it was withdrawn; not a single vote was cast for it. A *territorialist* programme was adopted, i.e., one that did *not* create *any* national groups "irrespective of the territory occupied by the members of the nation".

Clause 3 of the adopted programme reads: "The self-governing *regions* of one and the same nation shall jointly form a nationally united association, which shall manage its national affairs on an absolutely autonomous basis" (cf. *Prosveshcheniye*, 1913, No. 4, p. 28[19]). Clearly, this compromise programme is wrong too. An example will illustrate this. The German colonists' community in Saratov Gubernia, plus the German working-class suburb of Riga or Lodz, plus the German housing estate near St. Petersburg, etc., would constitute a "nationally united association" of Germans in Russia. Obviously the Social-Democrats cannot *demand* such a thing or *enforce* such an association, although of course they do not in the least deny *freedom* of every kind of association, including associations of any communities of any nationality in a given state. The

segregation, by a law of the state, of Germans, etc., in different localities and of different classes in Russia into a single German-national association may be practised by anybody—priests, bourgeois or philistines, but not by Social-Democrats.

5. THE EQUALITY OF NATIONS AND THE RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

When they discuss the national question, opportunists in Russia are given to citing the example of Austria. In my article in *Severnaya Pravda** (No. 10, *Prosveshcheniye*, pp. 96-98), which the opportunists have attacked (Mr. Semkovsky in *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*,[20] and Mr. Liebman in *Zeit*), I asserted that, insofar as that is at all possible under capitalism, there was only one solution of the national question, viz., through consistent democracy. In proof of this, I referred, among other things, to Switzerland.

This has not been to the liking of the two opportunists mentioned above, who are trying to refute it or belittle its significance. Kautsky, we are told, said that Switzerland is an exception; Switzerland, if you please, has a special kind of decentralisation, a special history, special geographical conditions, unique distribution of a population that speak different languages, etc., etc.

All these are nothing more than attempts to *evade* the issue. To be sure, Switzerland is an exception in that she is not a single-nation state. But Austria and Russia are also exceptions (or are backward, as Kautsky adds). To be sure, it was only her special, unique historical and social conditions that ensured Switzerland *greater* democracy than most of her European neighbours.

But where does all this come in, if we are speaking of the *model* to be adopted? In the whole world, under present-day conditions, countries in which any particular institution has been founded on *consistent* democratic principles are the exception. Does this prevent us, in our programme, from upholding consistent democracy in all institutions?

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* See pp. 20-22 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Switzerland's special features lie in her history, her geographical and other conditions. Russia's special features lie in the strength of her proletariat, which has no precedent in the epoch of bourgeois revolutions, and in her shocking general backwardness, which objectively necessitates an exceptionally rapid and resolute advance, under the threat of all sorts of drawbacks and reverses.

We are evolving a national programme from the proletarian standpoint; since when has it been recommended that the worst examples, rather than the best, be taken as a model?

At all events, does it not remain an indisputable and undisputed fact that national peace under capitalism has been achieved (insofar as it is achievable) *exclusively* in countries where consistent democracy prevails?

Since this is indisputable, the opportunists' persistent references to Austria instead of Switzerland are nothing but a typical Cadet device, for the Cadets[21] always copy the worst European constitutions rather than the best.

In Switzerland there are *three* official languages, but bills submitted to a referendum are printed in *five* languages, that is to say, in two Romansh dialects, in addition to the three official languages. According to the 1900 census, these two dialects are spoken by 38,651 out of the 3,315,443 inhabitants of Switzerland, i.e., by a little over *one per cent*. In the army, commissioned and non-comissioned officers "are given the fullest freedom to speak to the men in their native language". In the cantons of Graubünden and Wallis (each with a population of a little over a hundred thousand) both dialects enjoy complete equality.*

The question is: should we advocate and support this, the living *experience* of an advanced country, or borrow from the Austrians *inventions* like "extra-territorial autonomy", which have not yet been tried out anywhere in the world (and not yet been adopted by the Austrians themselves)?

To advocate this invention is to advocate the division of school education according to nationality, and that is a downright harmful idea. The experience of Switzerland

* See René Henry: *La Suisse et la question des langues*, Berne, 1907.

proves, however, that the greatest (relative) degree of national peace *can be*, *and has been*, *ensured in practice* where you have a consistent (again relative) democracy throughout the state.

"In Switzerland," say people who have studied this question, "there is *no national question* in the East-European sense of the term. The very phrase (national question) is unknown there...." "Switzerland left the struggle between nationalities a long way behind, in 1797-1803."*

This means that the epoch of the great French Revolution, which provided the most democratic solution of the current problems of the transition from feudalism to capitalism, *succeeded* incidentally, *en passant*, in "*solving*" the national question.

Let the Semkovskys, Liebmans, and other opportunists now try to assert that this "exclusively Swiss" solution is *inapplicable* to any uyezd or even part of an uyezd in Russia, where out of a population of only 200,000 forty thousand speak *two dialects* and want to have *complete equality* of language in their area!

Advocacy of complete equality of nations and languages distinguishes only the consistently democratic elements in each nation (i.e., only the proletarians), and *unites* them, not according to nationality, but in a profound and earnest desire to improve the entire system of state. On the contrary, advocacy of "cultural-national autonomy", despite the pious wishes of individuals and groups, *divides the nations* and in fact draws the workers and the bourgeoisie of any one nation closer together (the adoption of this "cultural-national autonomy" by all the Jewish bourgeois parties).

Guaranteeing the rights of a national minority is inseparably linked up with the principle of complete equality. In my article in *Severnaya Pravda* this principle was expressed in almost the same terms as in the later, official and more accurate decision of the conference of Marxists. That decision demands "the incorporation in the constitution of a fundamental law which shall declare null and void all privileges enjoyed by any one nation and all infringements of the rights of a national minority".

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* See Ed. Blocher: *Die Nationalitäten in der Schweiz*, Berlin, 1910.

Mr. Liebman tries to ridicule this formula and asks: "Who knows what the rights of a national minority are?" Do these rights, he wants to know, include the right of the minority to have "its own programme" for the national schools? How large must the national minority be to have the right to have its own judges, officials, and schools with instruction in his own language? Mr. Liebman wants it to be inferred from these questions that a "*positive*" national programme is essential.

Actually, these questions clearly show what reactionary ideas our Bundist tries to smuggle through under cover of a dispute on supposedly minor details and particulars.

"Its own programme" in its national schools!... Marxists, my dear nationalist-socialist, have a *general* school programme which demands, for example, an absolutely secular school. As far as Marxists are concerned, no *departure* from this general programme is anywhere or at any time permissible in a democratic state (the question of introducing any "local" subjects, languages, and so forth into it being decided by the local inhabitants). However, from the principle of "taking educational affairs out of the hands of the state" and placing them under the control of the nations, it ensues that we, the workers, must allow the "nations" in our democratic state to spend the people's money on clerical schools! Without being aware of the fact, Mr. Liebman has clearly demonstrated the reactionary nature of "cultural-national autonomy"!

"How large must a national minority be?" This is not defined even in the Austrian programme, of which the Bundists are enamoured. It says (more briefly and less clearly than our programme does): "The rights of the national minorities are protected by a special law to be passed by the Imperial Parliament" (§4 of the Brünn programme).

Why has nobody asked the Austrian Social-Democrats the question: what exactly is that law, and exactly which rights and of which minority is it to protect?

That is because all sensible people understand that it is inappropriate and impossible to define particulars in a programme. A programme lays down only fundamental principles. In this case the fundamental principle is implied with the Austrians, and directly expressed in the decision of the

latest conference of Russian Marxists. That principle is: no national privileges and no national inequality.

Let us take a concrete example to make the point clear to the Bundist. According to the schoal census of January 18, 1911, St. Petersburg elementary schools under the Ministry of Public "Education" were attended by 48,076 pupils. Of these, 396, i.e., less than one per cent, were Jews. The other figures are: Rumanian pupils—2, Georgians—1, Armenians—3, etc.[22] Is it possible to draw up a "positive" national programme that will cover this diversity of relationships and conditions? (And St. Petersburg is, of course, far from being the city with the most mixed population in Russia.) Even such specialists in national "subtleties" as the Bundists would hardly be able to draw up) such a programme.

And yet, if the constitution of the country contained a fundamental law rendering null and void every measure that infringed the rights of a minority, any citizen would be able to demand the rescinding of orders prohibiting, for example, the hiring, at state expense, of special teachers of Hebrew, Jewish history, and the like, or the provision of state-owned premises for lectures for Jewish, Armenian, or Rumanian children, or even for the one Georgian child. At all events, it is by no means impossible to meet, on the basis of equality, all the reasonable and just wishes of the national minorities, and nobody will say that advocacy of equality is harmful. On the other hand, it would certainly be harmful to advocate division of schools according to nationality, to advocate, for example, special schools for Jewish children in St. Petersburg, and it would be utterly impossible to set up national schools for *every* national minority, for one, two or three children.

Furthermore, it is impossible, in any country-wide law, to define how large a national minority must he to be entitled to special schools, or to special teachers for supplementary subjects, etc.

On the other hand, a country-wide law establishing equality can be worked out in detail and developed through special regulations and the decisions of regional Diets, and town, Zemstvo, village commune and other authorities.

6. CENTRALISATION AND AUTONOMY

In his rejoinder, Mr. Liebman writes:

"Take our Lithuania, the Baltic province, Poland, Volhynia, South Russia, etc.—everywhere you will find a *mixed* population; there is not a single city that does not have a large national minority. However far decentralisation is carried out, different nationalities will always be found living together in different places (chiefly in urban communities), and it is democratism that surrenders a national minority to the national majority. But, as we know, V. I. is opposed to the federal state structure and the boundless decentralisation that exist in the Swiss Federation. The question is: what was his point in citing the example of Switzerland?"

My object in citing the example of Switzerland has already been explained above. I have also explained that the problem of protecting the rights of a national minority can be solved *only* by a country-wide law promulgated in a consistently democratic state that does not depart from the principle of equality. But in the passage quoted above, Mr. Liebman repeats still another of the most common (and most fallacious) arguments (or sceptical remarks) which are usually made against the Marxist national programme, and which, therefore, deserve examination.

Marxists are, of course, opposed to federation and decentralisation, for the simple reason that capitalism requires for its development the largest and most centralised possible states. *Other conditions being equal*, the class-conscious proletariat will always stand for the larger state. It will always fight against medieval particularism, and will always welcome the closest possible economic amalgamation of large territories in which the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie can develop on a broad basis.

Capitalism's broad and rapid development of the productive forces *calls for* large, politically compact and united territories, since only here can the bourgeois class—together with its inevitable antipode, the proletarian class—unite and sweep away all the old, medieval, caste, parochial, petty-national, religious and other barriers.

The right of nations to self-determination, i.e., the right to secede and form independent national states, will be dealt with elsewhere.* But while, and insofar as, different

* See pp. 393-454 of this volume.—*Ed.*

nations constitute a single state, Marxists will never, under any circumstances, advocate either the federal principle or decentralisation. The great centralised state is a tremendous historical step forward from medieval disunity to the future socialist unity of the whole world, and only *via* such a state (*inseparably* connected with capitalism), can there be any road to socialism.

It would, however, be inexcusable to forget that in advocating centralism we advocate exclusively *democratic* centralism. On this point all the philistines in general, and the nationalist philistines in particular (including the late Dragomanov[23]), have so confused the issue that we are obliged again and again to spend time clarifying it.

Far from precluding local self-government, with *autonomy* for regions having special economic and social conditions, a distinct national composition of the population, and so forth, democratic centralism necessarily demands *both*. In Russia centralism is constantly confused with tyranny and bureaucracy. This confusion has naturally arisen from the history of Russia, but even so it is quite inexcusable for a Marxist to yield to it.

This can best be explained by a concrete example.

In her lengthy article "The National Question and Autonomy",* Rosa Luxemburg, among many other curious errors (which we shall deal with below), commits the exceptionally curious one of trying to *restrict* the demand for autonomy to Poland alone.

But first let us see *how* she defines autonomy.

Rosa Luxemburg admits—and being a Marxist she is of course bound to admit—that all the major and important economic and political questions of capitalist society must be dealt with exclusively by the central parliament of the whole country concerned, not by the autonomous Diets of the individual regions. These questions include tariff policy, laws governing commerce and industry, transport and means of communication (railways, post, telegraph, telephone, etc.), the army, the taxation system, civil** and crim-

* *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny*,[24] Kraków, 1908 and 1909.

** In elaborating her ideas Rosa Luxemburg goes into details, mentioning, for example—and quite rightly—divorce laws (No. 12, p. 162 of the above-mentioned journal).

inal law, the general principles of education (for example, the law on purely secular schools, on universal education, on the minimum programme, on democratic school management, etc.), the labour protection laws, and political liberties (right of association), etc., etc.

The autonomous Diets—on the basis of the general laws of the country—should deal with questions of purely local, regional, or national significance. Amplifying this idea in great—not to say excessive—detail, Rosa Luxemburg mentions, for example, the construction of local railways (No. 12, p. 149) and local highways (No. 14-15, p. 376), etc.

Obviously, one cannot conceive of a modern, truly democratic state that did *not* grant such autonomy to every region having any appreciably distinct economic and social features, populations of a specific national composition, etc. The principle of centralism, which is essential for the development of capitalism, is not violated by this (local and regional) autonomy, but on the contrary is applied by it *democratically*, not bureaucratically. The broad, free and rapid development of capitalism would be impossible, or at least greatly impeded, by the *absence* of such autonomy, which *facilitates* the concentration of capital, the development of the productive forces, the unity of the bourgeoisie and the unity of the proletariat on a *country-wide* scale; for bureaucratic interference in *purely* local (regional, national, and other) questions is one of the greatest obstacles to economic and political development in general, and an obstacle to *centralism* in serious, important and fundamental matters in particular.

One cannot help smiling, therefore, when reading how our magnificent Rosa Luxemburg tries to prove, with a very serious air and "purely Marxist" phrases, that the demand for autonomy is applicable *only* to Poland and *only* by way of exception! Of course, there is not a grain of "parochial" patriotism in this; we have here only "practical" considerations ... in the case of Lithuania, for example.

Rosa Luxemburg takes four gubernias—Vilna, Kovno, Grodno and Suvalki—assuring her readers (and herself) that these are inhabited "mainly" by Lithuanians; and by adding the inhabitants of these gubernias together she finds

that Lithuanians constitute 23 per cent of the total population, and if Zhmuds are added, they constitute 31 per cent—less than a third. The natural inference is that the idea of autonomy for Lithuania is "arbitrary and artificial" (No. 10, p. 807).

The reader who is familiar with the commonly known defects of our Russian official statistics will quickly see Rosa Luxemburg's mistake. Why take Grodno Gubernia where the Lithuanians constitute only 0.2 per cent, *one-fifth of one per cent*, of the population? Why take the whole Vilna Gubernia and not its Troki Uyezd alone, where the Lithuanians constitute the *majority* of the population? Why take the whole Suvalki Gubernia and put the number of Lithuanians at 52 per cent of the population, and not the Lithuanian uyezds of that gubernia, i.e., five out of the seven, in which Lithuanians constitute *72* per cent of the population?

It is ridiculous to talk about the conditions and demands of modern capitalism while at the same time taking not the "modern", not the "capitalist", but the medieval, feudal and official-bureaucratic administrative divisions of Russia, and in their crudest form at that (gubernias instead of uyezds). Plainly, there can be no question of any serious local reform in Russia until these divisions are abolished and superseded by a *really* "modern" division that really meets the requirements, *not* of the Treasury, *not* of the bureaucracy, *not* of routine, *not* of the landlords, *not* of the priests, but of capitalism; and one of the modern requirements of capitalism is undoubtedly the greatest possible national uniformity of the population, for nationality and language identity are an important factor making for the complete conquest of the home market and for complete freedom of economic intercourse.

Oddly enough, this obvious mistake of Rosa Luxemburg's is repeated by the Bundist Medem, who sets out to prove, not that Poland's specific features are "exceptional", but that the principle of national-territorial autonomy is unsuitable (the Bundists stand for national extra-territorial autonomy!). Our Bundists and liquidators collect from all over the world all the errors and all the opportunist vacillations of Social-Democrats of different countries and different

nations and appropriate to themselves the *worst* they can find in world Social-Democracy. A scrap-book of Bundist and liquidator writings could, taken together, serve as a model Social-Democratic *museum of bad taste*.

Regional autonomy, Medem tells us didactically, is good for a region or a "territory", but not for Lettish, Estonian or other areas (*okrugs*), which have populations ranging from half a million to two million and areas equal to a gubernia. "*That would not be autonomy, but simply a Zemstvo*.... Over this Zemstvo it would be necessary to establish real autonomy" ... and the author goes on to condemn the "break-up" of the old gubernias and uyezds.*

As a matter of fact, the preservation of the medieval, feudal, official administrative divisions means the "break-up" and mutilation of the conditions of modern capitalism. Only people imbued with the spirit of these divisions can, with the learned air of the expert, speculate on the contraposition of "Zemstvo" and "autonomy", calling for the stereotyped application of "autonomy" to large regions and of the Zemstvo to small ones. Modern capitalism does not demand these bureaucratic stereotypes at all. Why national areas with populations, not only of half a million, but even of 50,000, should not be able to enjoy autonomy; why such areas should not be able to unite in the most diverse ways with neighbouring areas of different dimensions into a single autonomous "territory" if that is convenient or necessary for economic intercourse—these things remain the secret of the Bundist Medem.

We would mention that the Brünn Social-Democratic national programme is based entirely on national-territorial autonomy; it proposes that Austria should be divided into "nationally distinct" areas "instead of the historical crown lands" (Clause 2 of the Brünn programme). We would not go as far as that. A uniform national population is undoubtedly one of the most reliable factors making for free, broad and really modern commercial intercourse. It is beyond doubt that not a single Marxist, and not even a single firm democrat, will stand up for the Austrian crown lands

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* V. Medem: "A Contribution to the Presentation of the National Question in Russia", *Vestnik Yevropy*,[25] 1912, Nos. 8 and 9.

and the Russian gubernias and uyezds (the latter are not as bad as the Austrian crown lands, but they are very bad nevertheless), or challenge the necessity of replacing these obsolete divisions by others that will conform as far as possible with the national composition of the population. Lastly, it is beyond doubt that in order to eliminate all national oppression it is very important to create autonomous areas, however small, with entirely homogeneous populations, towards which members of the respective nationalities scattered all over the country, or even all over the world, could gravitate, and with which they could enter into relations and free associations of every kind. All this is indisputable, and can be argued against only from the hidebound, bureaucratic point of view.

The national composition of the population, however, is *one* of the very important economic factors, *but not the sole and not* the most important factor. Towns, for example, play an *extremely important* economic role under capitalism, and everywhere, in Poland, in Lithuania, in the Ukraine, in Great Russia, and elsewhere, the towns are marked by mixed populations. To cut the towns off from the villages and areas that economically gravitate towards them, for the sake of the "national" factor, would be absurd and impossible. That is why Marxists must not take their stand entirely and exclusively on the "national-territorial" principle.

The solution of the problem proposed by the last conference of Russian Marxists is far more correct than the Austrian. On this question, the conference advanced the following proposition:

"... must provide for wide regional autonomy [not for Poland alone, of course, but for all the regions of Russia]* and fully democratic local self-government, and the boundaries of the self-governing and autonomous regions must be determined [not by the boundaries of the present gubernias, uyezds, etc., but] by the local inhabitants themselves on the basis of their economic and social conditions, national make-up of the population, etc."**

Here the national composition of the population is placed on *the same level* as the other conditions (economic first,

* Interpolations in square brackets (within passages quoted by Lenin) are by Lenin, unless otherwise indicated.—*Ed.*

** See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 427-28.—*Ed.*

then social, etc.) which must serve as a basis for determining the new boundaries that will meet the needs of modern capitalism, not of bureaucracy and Asiatic barbarism. The local population alone can "assess" those conditions with full precision, and on that basis the central parliament of the country will determine the boundaries of the autonomous regions and the powers of autonomous Diets.

* * *

We have still to examine the question of the right of nations to self-determination. On this question a whole collection of opportunists of all nationalities—the liquidator Semkovsky, the Bundist Liebman and the Ukrainian nationalist-socialist Lev Yurkevick—have set to work to "popularise" the errors of Rosa Luxemburg. This question, which has been so utterly confused by this whole "collection", will be dealt with in our next article.[26]

ONCE MORE ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU AND THE LIQUIDATORS

The characteristic feature of the publicists of the *Novaya Likvidatorskaya Gazeta*, namely, hypocrisy goaded on by impotent malice, has never reached such limits as it has in their articles concerning the decision of the International Bureau.[27]

To what lengths they have gone can be seen from the fact that, after their very first articles on this subject, Huysmans, the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, felt constrained to authorise Comrade Popov to convey to the Russian workers his protest against the attempts of *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* to "exploit, in its factional interests, the lack of information" of the Russian readers, his protest against the "utter inaccuracy and disloyalty" of the liquidators' published reports concerning the Bureau's decisions.

Since the *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* publicists have received such a resounding ... testimonial from the Bureau's Secretary, we can calmly ignore their attempts to accuse *us* of distorting the true character of the decisions passed in London. People who have been publicly accused by the Secretary of the Bureau of "exploiting" the Bureau's decisions "in their factional interests" and of being "disloyal" to them, may shout as much as they please about their respect for the International, etc., but scarcely anyone will believe them. Every worker knows now what name to give the manipulations by which Mr. D.[28] tries so hard to read into the resolution of the Bureau such things as "the methods of building" the Party, "condemnation" of the Six,[29] "rejection" of our "claims" and "recognition" of the Social-Demo-

cratic character of the Left wing.[30] Literary juggling with the resolutions of the Bureau is hardly a sign of respect for those resolutions, Mr. D.!

How great, though, is the confusion of these jugglers! See how they are forced to contradict themselves at every turn!

1) In No. 102, Mr. D. solemnly stated: "The International Socialist Bureau *censured* the six deputies for resigning from the Duma group. In issue No. 104, another juggler, Mr. L. S.,[31] no less solemnly declared: "The International Socialist Bureau handed out neither testimonials *nor censure*." And—please note!— both gentlemen are highly pleased with the Bureau's decision; one because it "censured", and the other because it did not! Can one imagine a picture of greater confusion?

Indeed, there was good reason for the liquidators' confusion! The main point of the Bureau's resolution states unequivocally the following: "*Any practical step towards unity must be preceded by a preliminary clarification of existing differences*."

This decision is a perfectly correct one.

If we do not want to present the working class with a hodgepodge of miscellaneous elements miscalled "unity", and if we want real unity of *action*, the first obligatory step in this direction must be to ascertain exactly what the "points of disagreement" are. Let us first ascertain exactly the "points of disagreement" by means of a "general exchange of opinion", and then it will become clear whether it is possible to talk about any practical steps towards unity. That is how the question is formulated in the Bureau's resolution. We whole-heartedly approve of this formulation. We responded to the proposal of the International Socialist Bureau by calling upon the workers calmly and thoughtfully to discuss our disagreements once more, and to express their views on the points of disagreement. We, for our part, promised to do all we could to help familiarise our foreign comrades with the existing differences. The resolution published in *Proletarskaya Pravda*, No. 9, gives a quite correct summary of the points on which we and the liquidators[32] disagree. This is what our reply to the Bureau's proposal should be, and of course, there could be no other line of action for those who have serious

consideration for the Bureau's decision to promote a "general exchange of opinion on the points of disagreement".

But—and this is the whole point—no task is more unpleasant, undesirable, and unacceptable to the liquidators than that of ascertaining our main differences on questions of theory, programme, tactics and organisation. All their subterfuges, distortions and abuse in connection with the Bureau's resolution are solely designed to *obscure* its demand for a preliminary clarification of differences. Both Mr. L. S. and Mr. D. run ahead zealously: could we not somehow "unite" without "certificates" giving the ideological "service record" of those uniting? Could we not do without "quotations from old journals and newspapers"?—Mr. L. S. worries. Could we not stop recalling "the past"?—Mr. D. pleads. We understand them very well: there is nothing pleasant for Mr. L. S. in the recollections of articles about the "underground" (*Luch* No. 15 [101]), or for Mr. D. in recollections of the "fight-for-legality" slogan. And we fully endorse the Bureau's decision insofar as it proposes that the errors of the past should not be raked up. We shall not deny the liquidators the amnesty for the "errors of the past", for which they plead. The past, as such, does not interest us; what does interest us is the work of today and tomorrow. As regards that work, we want to know whether the campaign against the "underground" conducted in the liquidationist press is to *continue*, whether they will *continue* to argue that the "three pillars"[33] are inapplicable at the present time, whether they will defend the distortion of the programme by the August bloc people[34] and so forth.

The clarification of these questions and of the degree to which we differ on them is, according to the Bureau's resolution, a *precondition* to any progress towards unity, if we are not to accept "unity" in the liquidationist meaning of lumping together, without regard for principles, all who care to call themselves Social-Democrats.

"The counts of the indictment have already been drawn up," Mr. L. S. thunders. We should not like to recall here the story about the thief who fears his own shadow, but why does Mr. L. S. take ordinary peace terms to be an "indictment"? We say: the organisation to be created as a result of unity should be based on such and such principles—accept-

ance of the old programme, a definite form of organisation, uncurtailed slogans,[35] resolute tactics, etc. But you immediately declare that this formulation of the programme, tactics and tasks of the organisation, is nothing but a "complete list of liquidators' sins". We are sorry for you, but neither we nor the Bureau know of any method of building new organisations other than by clarifying their programme, their tactics, and so forth.

We are guilty of a still more grievous sin, however. Not only have we proposed the conditions for the creation of an organisation, i.e., clarified the terms of peace, but we have, moreover, submitted these terms to the bar of the workers' opinion.

We maintain that there is no other way of carrying out the Bureau's decision than the one we have chosen.

The Bureau calls upon *all* those who profess to be Social-Democrats to clarify their differences as a preliminary step towards solving the problem of unity.

The resolution we published responded to the Bureau's appeal by giving a "list" of views on the basic questions of programme, tactics and organisation, and by submitting our "list" to the workers, for their consideration. If the liquidators were to follow our example, we would have, in the more or less near future, the clearly formulated opinions of all parties, and a clear idea as to which side has the support of the majority of the organised workers. The task set before the Russian proletariat by the International Socialist Bureau would be brought nearer to fulfilment. But the liquidators, of course, will to the very last shun this path, for the simple reason that neither a precise formulation of their political views nor the submission of these views to the bar of the broad circles of the workers is in the interests of their group.

Under these circumstances they will inevitably strive to substitute for the definite "clarification of differences" demanded by the Bureau, petty personal squabbles, distortions, and wilful misrepresentations, which can only hamper its work, and they will constantly necessitate those lessons in "loyalty which the Secretary of the International has already been compelled to teach the liquidators.

Proletarskaya Pravda No. 11, December 19, 1913

Published according to the text in *Proletarskaya Pravda*

NATIONAL-LIBERALISM AND THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Coming to the aid of the muddled Mr. Mogilyansky, the editors of the liberal *Rech*[36] recently (in issue No. 340) published an unsigned, i.e., official and editorial statement on an important issue, namely, the right of nations to self-determination.

Evading a direct answer, Mr. Mogilyansky had asserted that his views had "nothing in common with the repudiation of the right of nations to self-determination". Now *Rech* officially declares that Clause 11 of the Constitutional-Democratic Party programme gives a "direct, precise and clear answer to the question of the right to free *cultural* self-determination".

The word we have underlined is particularly important, since it was *not* "cultural" self-determination that was discussed in Mr. Mogilyansky's first article, or in Mr. Dontsov's reply to it, or in Mr. Mogilyansky's polemic with Mr. Dontsov. The question discussed was the *political* self-determination of nations, i.e., the right of nations to secede, whereas by "cultural self-determination" (a meaningless, pompous phrase, which contradicts the *entire* history of democracy) the liberals really mean only freedom of languages.

Rech now declares that *Proletarskaya Pravda* hopelessly confuses self-determination with "separatism", with secession by a nation.

Which side is revealing hopeless (or perhaps deliberate...) confusion?

Will our enlightened "Constitutional-Democrats" deny that, throughout the entire history of international democ-

racy, and especially since the middle of the nineteenth century, self-determination of nations has been understood to mean precisely *political* self-determination, i.e., the right to secede, to form an independent national state?

Will our enlightened "Constitutional-Democrats" deny that the International Socialist Congress held in London in 1896, in reaffirming the established democratic principle (to which, of course, the Congress did not confine itself) also had in mind *political* and not some sort of "cultural" self-determination?

Will our enlightened "Constitutional-Democrats" deny that Plekhanov, for example, who wrote about self-determination as far back as 1902, thereby understood political self-determination?

Please, gentlemen, explain yourselves more clearly; do not conceal the fruits of your "enlightenment" from the "mob"!

On the main issue *Rech* states:

"*Actually, the Cadets have never pledged themselves to advocate the right of 'nations to secede' from the Russian state.*"

Splendid! Thank you for being so candid, and for making such an explicit statement of principles! We draw the attention of *Rossiya*, *Novoye Vremya*, *Zemshchina*,[37] and others, to this "most loyal" statement by the Cadets' semi-official organ!

But stay your ire, gentlemen of the Cadet Party, should you be called *national-liberals* precisely for that reason. Herein lies one of the root causes of your chauvinism and of your ideological and political bloc with the Purishkeviches (or of your ideological and political dependence upon them). The Purishkeviches and their class inculcate in the ignorant masses the "firm" belief that it is "right" to "grab 'em and hold 'em".[38] The Cadets have studied history and know only too well what—to put it mildly—"pogrom-like" actions the practice of this "ancient right" has often led to. A democrat could not remain a democrat (let alone a proletarian democrat) without systematically advocating, precisely among the Great-Russian masses and in the Russian language, the "self-determination" of nations in the political and not in the "cultural" sense.

Always and everywhere the characteristic feature of national-liberalism lies in its taking a stand entirely on the basis of relations (and boundaries) determined by the Purishkevich class and protected (often to the detriment of economic development and of "culture") by Purishkevich methods. In effect, this means adapting oneself to the interests of the feudal-minded landlords and to the worst nationalist prejudices of the dominant nation, instead of systematically combating those prejudices.

Proletarskaya Pravda No. 12,
December 20, 1913

Published according to
the text in *Proletarskaya Pravda*

NARODISM AND LIQUIDATIONISM AS DISINTEGRATING ELEMENTS IN THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

The St. Petersburg Narodnik newspaper *Severnaya Mysl*[39] recently published a report from Riga concerning the progress of the insurance campaign.[40] Among other things the author, B. Braines, wrote:

"The boycottist trend is apparent only among the shoemakers, where boycottist groups have been formed. Unfortunately, the Narodniks are the leading spirits in these groups. At the other factories the campaign is making little headway."

This candid confession throws a strong light on the present condition and political significance of Narodism in Russia. The correctness of the appraisal of Narodism made by the conference of Marxists[41] is unexpectedly and strikingly confirmed by the Narodniks themselves.

Just think of it: a Left-Narodnik newspaper, unable to make any refutation whatsoever, publishes the *regrets* of its correspondent that the *Narodniks* are the "*leading spirits*" of the boycottist groups!

Here is a splendid illustration of the political disintegration of Narodism. Here is an example of Russian non-partyism and indifference to the party principle. We must deal with this example, because an example from the life of "another" party reveals to us with striking clarity the true cause of an evil which is generally very widespread, and from which we suffer considerably.

During the period of counter-revolution a great variety of trends and groups, all practically independent of one another, arose among the Narodniks. In this respect, both the Narodniks and the Marxists were evidently affected by the operation of the general causes stemming from the

entire historical situation created by the Third of June system.[42] Among the Narodniks; individual groups came out in the press, for example, in a far more liquidationist vein than was the case with us (the Paris publications of 1908-10), and there were groups of quite an anarchist character, and the most prominent writers of that trend began to talk and write like liberals and renegades (Mr. V. Chernov in *Zavety*[43]), and so forth.

Nevertheless, formally and outwardly, the Narodniks appear to be much more "*united*" than the Marxists are. There is no definite split among the Narodniks, no intense, stubborn, systematic and prolonged inner struggle among them. It seems, at first glance, as though they are all the time held together by certain common ties. In their literature one constantly comes across proud references to Narodnik "unity", in contrast with the "Marxist" (and most often "Bolshevik") "tendency towards discord and splits".

Those who want to understand the meaning and significance of what is taking place in the working-class and socialist movements in Russia must ponder very, very carefully over this contraposing of "Marxist splits" and "Narodnik unity".

Among us Marxists and near-Marxists there are also no few groups and grouplets which are practically almost independent of one another, and which sedulously preach "unity" (quite in the Narodnik spirit), and still more sedulously condemn "Marxist splits".

What does it all mean? Are we to envy "Narodnik unity"? Are we to seek the reasons for this distinction in the pernicious qualities of "certain" "leaders" (a very widespread method) or in the Marxists' pernicious tendency towards "dogmatism", "intolerance", and so forth?

Consider the facts. These tell us that the Narodniks are far more tolerant and conciliatory, that they are far more "united", and that the abundance of groups among them does not lead to sharp splits. At the same time the facts tell us quite incontrovertibly that the Narodniks are politically *impotent*, that they have no organised or durable contacts with the masses, that they are *incapable of any* mass political action. The example of the Narodnik boycottists in Riga merely serves to illustrate most strikingly what was revealed

not only in the insurance campaign, but also in the Duma elections, the strike movement, the working-class press (even more broadly, the democratic press at large), the trade unions, and so forth. For example, we read the following in issue No. 2 of the Left-Narodnik *Severnaya Mysl*:

"*To the honour of the Marxists be it said that at present they enjoy considerable influence in the unions* [*i.e., the trade unions*] *whereas we Left Narodniks work in them without a definite plan, and for that reason our influence is scarcely felt.*"

Strange, is it not? The conciliatory, tolerant, "united", non-splitting, broad-minded, non-dogmatic Narodniks—*notwithstanding their ardent desire and striving*—conduct *no* insurance campaign, exercise *no* influence on the trade unions, and have *no* organised group in the Duma. But the "dogmatic" Marxists, who are "for ever splitting" and thereby enfeebling themselves, fought a splendid election campaign during the Fourth Duma elections, are conducting successful activities in the trade unions, are running a splendid and vigorous insurance campaign, carry on fairly effective activities in the strike movement, pass unanimous decisions which are consistent in principle, and are unanimously, firmly and with conviction supported by an obvious and unquestionable majority of the class-conscious workers.

Strange, is it not? Are not the "conciliatoriness", and all the other splendid spiritual qualities of the Narodniks merely *sterile things*?

That is exactly what they are—sterile! The "unity" of the varied intellectualist little groups is bought by the Narodniks at the price of their utter political impotence among the masses. And with us Marxists, too, it is the Trotskyists,[44] the liquidators, the "conciliators", and the "Tyszka-ites",[45] those who shout loudest about group unity, who display *the same* intellectualist impotence, while the real political campaigns, not the imaginary ones, but those that grow out of actual conditions (election, insurance, daily press, strike campaigns, etc.) show that the *majority* of the class-conscious workers are rallied around those who are most often, most zealously and most fiercely accused of being "splitters".

The conclusion to be drawn is clear, and however unpalatable it may be to the host of intellectualist groups the course

of the working-class movement *will compel* them to admit it. This conclusion is that attempts to create "unity" by means of "agreements" or "alliances" among intellectualist groups, which *in fact* express tendencies that are *injurious* to the working-class movement (Narodism, liquidationism, etc.), lead only to complete disintegration and impotence. Both Narodism and liquidationism have *proved* this by their lamentable example.

Only *in opposition* to these groups and grouplets (in a strenuous struggle, which is inevitable under bourgeois conditions and amidst a host of petty-bourgeois vacillations) is real unity building up among the working-class masses led by the majority of the class-conscious proletarians.

Naïve people will ask: How are we to distinguish the intellectualist groups which are causing damage to the working-class movement by disintegrating it and condemning it to impotence, from that group or groups which ideologically express the working-class movement, rally, unite and strengthen it? There are only two ways of distinguishing one from the other: theory and practical experience. It is necessary seriously to examine the theoretical content of such *trends of thought* as Narodism and liquidationism (the principal petty-bourgeois trends that are disintegrating the working-class movement). It is necessary to carefully study the practical experience of the mass working-class movement as a means of rallying the majority of class-conscious workers around integral and considered decisions, based on principle and applied in elections, in insurance campaigns, in activities in the trade unions, in the strike movement, in the "underground", and so forth.

He who gives close thought to the theory of Marxism and close attention to the practical experience of the last few years will realise that the elements of a genuine workers' party are rallying in Russia *in spite of* the motley, noisy, and vociferous (but essentially futile and harmful) groups of Narodniks, liquidators, and so forth. Unity of the working class is emerging from the disintegration of these groups and their isolation from the proletariat.

Proletarskaya Pravda No. 12, December 20, 1913

Published according to the text in *Proletarskaya Pravda*

COMMENT ON KAUTSKY'S LETTER[46]

K. Kautsky has realised (at last!) that the Tyszka group of "Tyszka" and Rosa Luxemburg does not represent the Polish Social-Democratic workers and that the Warsaw and Lodz organisations have to be reckoned with.

It is a good thing that he has at last understood facts which have been known to Russian Marxist workers *for years*. But the very fact that *for years* Rosa L. and Tyszka could pass off a *fiction* for reality shows how deplorably misinformed are the German Social-Democrats, including Kautsky!

Kautsky reveals still greater ignorance of the subject when he writes that "as far as he knows" the Polish Socialist Party "Left wing" split away from the P.S.P. "Right wing"[47] in order to take a *fully* Social-Democratic stand.

It is well known—one may say here—that this time Kautsky does *not at all* know what he is writing about. Our readers should make themselves familiar with at least the article by Henryk Kamieński "From Nationalism to Liquidationism" (*Prosveshcheniye* No. 10). The author of this article is a Pole and *knows* what he is writing about. From this article our readers will see that the P.S.P. Left wing is *not* Social-Democratic at all. Besides, it would be ridiculous to think that people who desire to take a fully Social-Democratic stand, and are *capable* of doing so, would retain "their own" programme and the title of a non-Social-Democratic party.

The forthcoming "exchange of opinions" among *all* Social-Democratic groups in Russia and Poland through the medium of the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau will reveal Kautsky's error and show that *none*

of the Polish Social-Democrats regard, nor can regard, the P.S.P. Left wing as a Social-Democratic Party.

We would add that Kautsky says nothing to repudiate (although he wrote in *Vorwärts*[48]) the report of his statement made in this very *Vorwärts* that "the old Party has disappeared" in Russia. The forthcoming "exchange of opinions" will also expose this monstrous blunder of Kautsky's.

Proletarskaya Pravda No. 12, December 20, 1913

Published according to the text in *Proletarskaya Pravda*

NOVOYE VREMYA AND *RECH* ON THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

As was to be expected, the controversy between the Social-Democrats and the Cadets on the question of the right of nations to self-determination has aroused the interest of *Novoye Vremya*. In issue No. 13563, this mouthpiece of Great-Russian nationalism writes:

"What to Social-Democrats is an axiom of political wisdom [i.e., recognition of the right of nations to self-determination, to secession] is today beginning to cause disagreement even among the Cadets."

Despite this Black-Hundred dig at the liberals (the word "even"), *Novoye Vremya* is compelled to quote the *Rech* statement that "the Cadets have never undertaken to defend the right of nations to secede from the Russian state".

This statement is so forthright that *Novoye Vremya* is compelled to prevaricate. It writes:

"Judging by the facts, the loose concept of cultural self-determination evidently differs, from the Cadets point of view, from the advocacy of separatism, only in its mode of operation."

But *Novoye Vremya* understands perfectly well the difference between the absurd "cultural", and real, i.e., *political*, self-determination, for further on we read:

"Indeed, the Cadets have never pledged themselves to advocate the right of nations to secede from the Russian state ... except by the immeasurably more polished method of accepting subsidies for their press organs from non-Russians and Jews."

The old, crude and ridiculous Black-Hundred device of taunting the liberals for receiving assistance from the Jews! But we must not allow these silly little tricks to obscure the main thing: and the main thing is that *Novoye Vremya*,

in admitting that the Cadets have never undertaken to defend the *right to secede*, has come to fully realise the difference between the Social-Democrats and the Cadets.

The difference between the Constitutional-Democrats and the Social-Democrats is the distinction between national-liberals and consistent democrats.

Proletarskaya Pravda No. 16,
December 25, 1913

Published according to
the text in *Proletarskaya Pravda*

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Mr. Martov *has confirmed* the fact already noted in *Proletarskaya Pravda* that I was not a member of the Strike *Subcommittee*, and that on the *committee* I *opposed* the clause concerning "criminal liability".* I need now only add that I advocated not only "mitigation" of penalties, as Mr. Martov "remembers", but of course the *complete deletion* of such a clause. There was no need for me to move any amendments, because the draft then under discussion *did not contain* any such clause, and it was Mr. F. Dan who unsuccessfully tried to introduce it (even L. Martov found the courage to oppose Mr. F. Dan on that occasion).

Proletarskaya Pravda No. 17,
December 29, 1913
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to
the text in *Proletarskaya Pravda*

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* See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 522-24.—*Ed.*

FOUR THOUSAND RUBLES A YEAR AND A SIX-HOUR DAY

This is the battle-cry of the class-conscious American workers. They say: We have only one political question before us, and that is the question of the workers' earnings and their working day.

To Russian workers it may at first sight seem very strange and puzzling to have all social and political questions reduced to a single one. But in the United States of America, the most advanced country in the world, which has almost complete political liberty, where democratic institutions are most developed, and where tremendous progress has been made in labour productivity, it is quite natural that the question of socialism should come to the fore.

Thanks to the existence of complete political liberty, it is possible in America, better than in any other country, to calculate the total production of wealth and draw up a statistical report of production. That calculation, based on reliable data, shows that in America there are, in round numbers, 15,000,000 working-class families.

Together, these working-class families annually produce consumers' goods to the value of sixty thousand million rubles. This works out at 4,000 rubles a year per working-class family.

But at present, under the capitalist social system, only half this vast amount of wealth, only thirty thousand millions, goes to the workers, who constitute nine-tenths of the population. The other half is pocketed by the capitalists who, with all their apologists and hangers-on, constitute only one-tenth of the population.

In America, as in other countries, unemployment is rife and the cost of living is steadily rising. Want among the workers is becoming more and more distressful and intolerable. American statistics show that *about half* the workers are working *part time*. And what an immense amount of social labour is still being wasted owing to the preservation of senseless, backward and scattered small production, particularly in agriculture and in commerce!

Thanks to complete political liberty and the absence of feudal landlords in America, machinery is employed there on a wider scale than anywhere else in the world. The aggregate power of the machines employed in the manufacturing industry alone amounts to *eighteen million* steam h.p. At the same time, an investigation of all power resources in the form of waterfalls showed, according to the report of March 14, 1912, that by converting the power of waterfalls into electricity America could immediately obtain an additional *sixty million* h.p.!

Already a land of boundless wealth, it can at one stroke *treble* its wealth, *treble* the productivity of its social labour, and thereby guarantee to *all* working-class families a decent standard of living worthy of intelligent human beings, and a not excessively long working day of six hours.

But owing to the capitalist social system we see in most of the big cities of America—and in the rural districts too for that matter—appalling unemployment and poverty, a wanton waste of human labour side by side with the unprecedented luxury of the multimillionaires, of the rich, whose fortunes run into thousands of millions.

The American working class is rapidly becoming enlightened, and is organising in a powerful proletarian party. Sympathy for this party is growing among all the working people. Working with the aid of first-class machines, and seeing at every turn marvels of engineering and the magnificent successes of labour resulting from the organisation of large-scale production, the wage-slaves of America are beginning clearly to realise what their tasks are, and are advancing the plain, obvious and immediate demands for an income of four thousand rubles a year for every working-class family, and a six-hour day.

The aim of the American workers is quite attainable in any civilised country in the world; but to achieve it, the country must enjoy the fundamental conditions of freedom....

And there is no road to a free future other than by way of an independent working-class organisation, educational, industrial, co-operative and political.

Proletarskaya Pravda No. 19,
January 1, 1914
Signed: *I.*

Published according to
the text in *Proletarskaya Pravda*

IS A COMPULSORY OFFICIAL LANGUAGE NEEDED?

The liberals differ from the reactionaries in that they recognise the right to have instruction conducted in the native language, at least in the *elementary* schools. But they are completely at one with the reactionaries on the point that a compulsory official language is necessary.

What does a compulsory official language mean? In practice, it means that the language of the Great Russians, who are a *minority* of the population of Russia, is imposed upon all the rest of the population of Russia. In every school the teaching of the official language must be *obligatory*. All official correspondence must be conducted in the official language, not in the language of the local population.

On what grounds do the parties who advocate a compulsory official language justify its necessity?

The "arguments" of the Black Hundreds are curt, of course. They say: All non-Russians should be ruled with a rod of iron to keep them from "getting out of hand". Russia must be indivisible, and all the peoples must submit to Great-Russian rule, for it was the Great Russians who built up and united the land of Russia. Hence, the language of the ruling class must be the compulsory official language. The Purishkeviches would not mind having the "local lingoes" banned altogether, although they are spoken by about 60 per cent of Russia's total population.

The attitude of the liberals is much more "cultured" and "refined". They are for permitting the use of the native languages within certain limits (for example, in the elementary schools). At the same time they advocate an obligatory official language, which, they say, is necessary in the interests of "culture", in the interests of a "united" and "indivisible" Russia, and so forth.

"Statehood is the affirmation of cultural unity.... An official language is an essential constituent of state culture.... Statehood is based on unity of authority, the official language being an instrument of that unity. The official language possesses the same compulsory and universally coercive power as all other forms of statehood....

"If Russia is to remain united and indivisible, we must firmly insist on the political expediency of the Russian literary language."

This is the typical philosophy of a liberal on the necessity of an official language.

We have quoted the above passage from an article by Mr. S. Patrashkin in the liberal newspaper *Dyen*[49] (No. 7). For quite understandable reasons, the Black-Hundred *Novoye Vremya* rewarded the author of these ideas with a resounding kiss. Mr. Patrashkin expresses "very sound ideas", Menshikov's newspaper stated (No. 13588). Another paper the Black Hundreds are constantly praising for such very "sound" ideas is the national-liberal *Russkaya Mysl*.[50] And how can they help praising them when the liberals, with the aid of "cultured" arguments, are advocating things that please the *Novoye Vremya* people so much?

Russian is a great and mighty language, the liberals tell us. Don't you want everybody who lives in the border regions of Russia to know this great and mighty language? Don't you see that the Russian language will enrich the literature of the non-Russians, put great treasures of culture within their reach, and so forth?

That is all true, gentlemen, we say in reply to the liberals. We know better than you do that the language of Turgenev, Tolstoy, Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky is a great and mighty one. We desire more than you do that the closest possible intercourse and fraternal unity should be established between the oppressed classes of all the nations that inhabit Russia, without any discrimination. And we, of course, are in favour of every inhabitant of Russia having the opportunity to learn the great Russian language.

What we do not want is the element of *coercion*. We do not want to have people driven into paradise with a cudgel; for no matter how many fine phrases about "culture" you may utter, a *compulsory* official language involves coercion, the use of the cudgel. We do not think that the great and mighty Russian language needs anyone having to study it by *sheer compulsion*. We are convinced that the development

of capitalism in Russia, and the whole course of social life in general, are tending to bring all nations closer together. Hundreds of thousands of people are moving from one end of Russia to another; the different national populations are intermingling; exclusiveness and national conservatism must disappear. People whose conditions of life and work make it necessary for them to know the Russian language will learn it without being forced to do so. But coercion (the cudgel) will have only one result: it will hinder the great and mighty Russian language from spreading to other national groups, and, most important of all, it will sharpen antagonism, cause friction in a million new forms, increase resentment, mutual misunderstanding, and so on.

Who wants that sort of thing? Not the Russian people, not the Russian democrats. They do not recognise national oppression *in any form*, even in "the interests of Russian culture and statehood".

That is why Russian Marxists say that there must be *no* compulsory official language, that the population must be provided with schools where teaching will be carried on in all the local languages, that a fundamental law must be introduced in the constitution declaring invalid all privileges of any one nation and all violations of the rights of national minorities.

Proletarskaya Pravda No. 14 (32), January 18, 1914

Published according to the text in *Proletarskaya Pravda*

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

At your personal request I am writing the following brief report (*bref rapport*) in my own name, and apologise in advance for any gaps in this report (*rapport*), as I am hard pressed for time. The Central Committee of our Party will probably find occasion to send its own official report* to the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau, and to correct any possible errors in my own private report.

What are the differences (*dissentiments*) between the Central Committee of our Party and the *Organising Committee*? That is the question. These differences may be reduced to the following six points:

I

The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was formed in 1898 as an *illegal* Party, and has *always* remained such. Today too our Party can exist only as an illegal Party, since in Russia even the party of the moderate liberals has not been legalised.

Until the 1905 Revolution in Russia, however, the liberals published an illegal organ abroad.[51] When the revolution was defeated, the liberals turned their backs upon it and indignantly rejected the idea of an illegal press. And so after the revolution the idea arose in the opportunist wing of our Party of renouncing the illegal Party, of *liquidating* it (hence the name "*liquidators*") and of *substituting* for it a legal ("open") party.

On two occasions, in 1908 and in 1910, our entire Party condemned liquidationism[52] *formally* and unqualifiedly. On

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* See pp. 233-36 of this volume.—*Ed.*

this point the differences are absolutely irreconcilable. It is impossible to restore and build up an illegal Party with people who do not believe in it and have no desire at all to build it up.

The Organising Committee and the Conference of August 1912[53] which elected it, recognise the illegal Party *in word*. *In deed*, however, after the decisions of the August Conference, the liquidators' newspaper in Russia (*Luch* and *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* in 1912-13), continued to *attack*, in the legal press, the very existence of the illegal Party (numerous articles by L. S., F. D., Zasulich, and others).

Thus, we disagree with the Organising Committee because the latter is a fiction, which in word denies that it is liquidationist, but in fact screens and whitewashes the liquidators' group in Russia.

We disagree with the Organising Committee because the latter is unwilling (and unable, for it is helpless against the liquidators' group) to condemn liquidationism emphatically and irrevocably.

We cannot build up an illegal Party except by fighting those who attack it in the legal press. In Russia there are now (since 1912) *two* St. Petersburg workers' dailies: one fulfils and carries out the decisions of the illegal Party (*Pravda*). The other (*Luch* and *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*) attacks the illegal Party, defies it, and tries to convince the workers that it is unnecessary. Unity between the illegal Party and the group that is fighting against the existence of the illegal Party is impossible until the paper run by the liquidators' group radically changes its line, or until the Organising Committee emphatically condemns it and breaks with it.

II

Our differences with the liquidators are the same as those between reformists and revolutionaries everywhere. However, these differences are greatly aggravated and made irreconcilable by the fact that the liquidators, in the legal press, fight against revolutionary slogans. Unity is impossible with a group which, for example, declares in the legal press that the slogan of a republic, or of the confiscation of

the big landed estates, is unsuitable for agitation among the masses. In the legal press we cannot refute such propaganda, which is objectively tantamount to betraying socialism and making concessions to liberalism and the monarchy.

And the Russian monarchy is such that a few more revolutions will be needed to teach the Russian tsars constitutionalism.

There can be no unity between our illegal Party, which secretly organises revolutionary strikes and demonstrations, and the group of publicists who in the legal press call the strike movement a "strike craze".

III

We disagree on the national question. This question is a very acute one in Russia. The programme of our Party emphatically rejects so-called "extra-territorial and national autonomy". Advocacy of the latter actually amounts to the preaching of refined bourgeois nationalism. Nevertheless, the August Conference of the liquidators (1912) recognised this "extra-territorial national autonomy" thereby deliberately violating the Party Programme. Comrade Plekhanov, who takes a neutral stand between the Central Committee and the Organising Committee, protested against this violation of the Programme, describing it as adaptation of socialism to nationalism.

We disagree with the Organising Committee because the latter refuses to rescind a decision which violates our Party Programme.

IV

Furthermore, we disagree on the national question in respect of organisation. The Copenhagen Congress definitely condemned the division of trade unions according to nationality.[54] Moreover, the experience of Austria has shown that in this respect it is impossible to draw a distinction between the trade unions and the political party of the proletariat.

Our Party has always stood for a united, international organisation of the Social-Democratic Party. In 1908, before the split, the Party repeated its demand for the amalga-

mation of all the national Social-Democratic organisations in the local areas.

We disagree with the Bund, the separate Jewish workers' organisation, which supports the Organising Committee, because, despite Party decisions, the Bund flatly refuses to proclaim the principle of the unity of all national organisations in the local areas, and to bring about such an amalgamation.

It must be emphasised that the Bund refuses to amalgamate not only with organisations subordinated to our Central Committee, but also with the Lettish Social-Democratic Party, the Polish Social-Democratic Party and the Polish Socialist Party (the Left wing). Consequently, when the Bund poses as an amalgamator, we reject its claim, and declare that it is the Bund that is splitting the movement, since it refuses to bring about international unity among the Social-Democratic workers in the local organisations.

V

We disagree with the step taken by the Organising Committee in defending the alliance of the liquidators and the Bund with a non-Social-Democratic party, the P.S.P. (the Left wing), *despite* the protests of the two sections of the Polish Social-Democratic Party.

The Polish Social-Democratic Party has been affiliated to our Party ever since 1906-07.

The P.S.P. (the Left wing) was *never* affiliated with our Party.

By entering into an alliance with the P.S.P. *in opposition* to the two sections of the Polish Social-Democratic Party the Organising Committee is guilty of scandalous splitting action.

By accepting in the Social-Democratic group in the Duma the non-Social-Democrat Jagiello, a member of the P.S.P., despite formal protests by the two sections of the Polish Social-Democratic Party, the Organising Committee and its supporters among the deputies in the Duma are guilty of scandalous splitting action.

We disagree with the Organising Committee because the latter is unwilling to condemn and annul this splitting alliance with the P.S.P. (the Left wing).

VI

Lastly, we disagree with the Organising Committee, and with many of the groups and fictitious organisations abroad, because our opponents are unwilling to admit openly, loyally and unequivocally that our Party enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers of Russia.

We attach extremely great importance to this because, on the basis of bald statements unsupported by precise and verifiable facts, the most glaring falsehoods are often circulated abroad about the state of affairs in Russia.

The alternative is clear: either our opponents admit that there are irreconcilable differences between us (in which case their talk about unity is hypocrisy), or they see no irreconcilable differences (in which case, if they do not want to be regarded as splitters, they must loyally admit that we are the absolute majority).

By what public and verifiable facts can it *be proved* which side enjoys the support of the real majority of the class-conscious and organised Social-Democratic workers in Russia?

First, by the Duma elections.

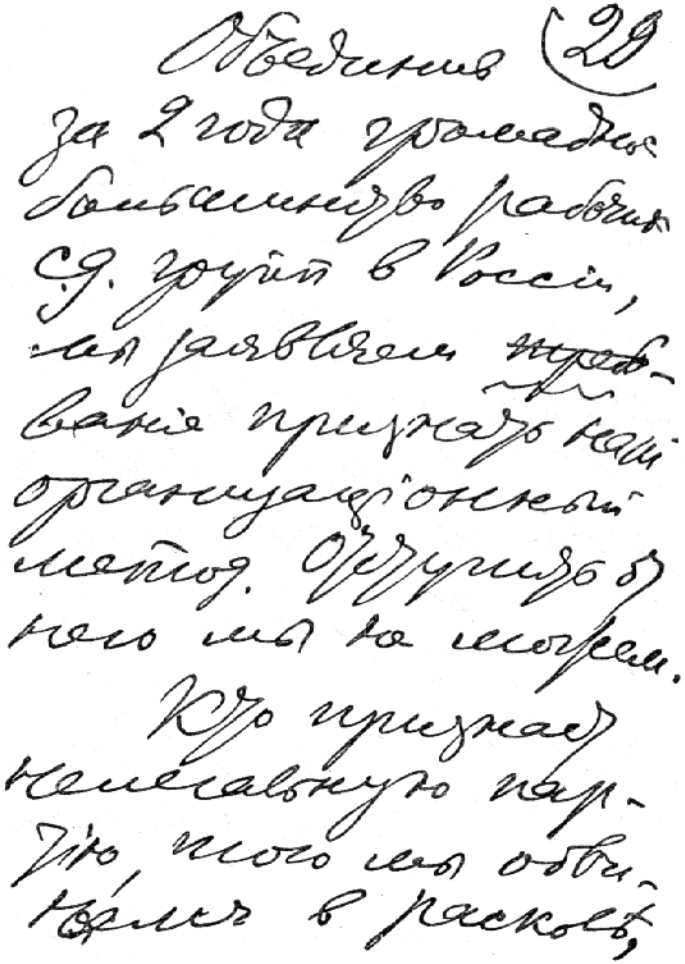
Secondly, by the information published in both Social-Democratic newspapers during the whole of 1912 and nearly the whole of 1913.

It can be readily understood that the only convincing material on the question at issue is provided by the daily newspapers of the two trends in St. Petersburg for two years.

Thirdly, by public statements made by workers in Russia (in the columns of *both* newspapers) in favour of one or the other of the two Social-Democratic groups in the Duma.

All these three sets of facts were given in our Central Committee's official report to the International Socialist Bureau (session of December 14, 1913). I will briefly recapitulate these facts.

First: 47 per cent of the deputies elected by the worker curia in the elections to the Second Duma (1907), 50 per cent of such deputies in the elections to the Third Duma (1907-12), and 67 per cent in the elections to the Fourth Duma were Bolsheviks (i.e., our adherents).



Pages 29-30 of Lenin's letter to Camille Huysmans
dated January 31-February 1, 1914

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если он не
умеет применять
наш организацион-
ный метод, подде-
ржанный Думским
сбором и всей
большинской сорга-
низованной рабочих.

Таков мой
краткий доклад.
С ред. прив. Н. Ленин.

Брюн
Берн
Обратный 31 I – 1 II. 1914.

Secondly, during 21 months between January 1, 1912 and October 1, 1913, the two workers' newspapers in St. Petersburg published reports of the funds collected by workers' groups: 556 groups collected funds for the liquidators and *all* their allies, while 2,181 groups collected funds for our Party.

Thirdly, up to November 20, 1913, 4,850 workers expressed support, *over their signatures*, for our group in the Duma, as against 2,539 workers who expressed support for the liquidators (and all their allies, the Bund, the Caucasians, and so on and so forth).

These precise and verifiable facts prove that during the two years, we *united the overwhelming majority* of Social-Democratic workers' groups in Russia, despite the incredible difficulties the illegal Party in Russia has to contend with.

(In the matter of publishing illegal literature and organising illegal, strictly Party conferences, the odds in our favour are even greater.)

Since we have in two years united the overwhelming majority of Social-Democratic workers' groups in Russia, we claim recognition for our method of organisation. We cannot depart from that method.

Those who recognise the illegal Party, but refuse to recognise our method of organisation, which has been endorsed by two years' of experience and by the will of the majority of the class-conscious workers, are guilty of splitting tactics.

Such is my brief report.

With Social-Democratic greetings, *N. Lenin*
Brussels, January 31-February 1, 1914

First published in 1924 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No, 3 (26)

Published according to the manuscript

THE PURPOSE OF ZEMSTVO STATISTICS

(*Penza Gubernia Zemstvo. Summary of a Valuation and Statistical Investigation of Penza Gubernia. Series III. Investigation of Landed Property. Part II. Census of Peasant Households. Section I. Reference Data on Villages and Detailed Tables of Commune House-to-House Returns Census. Vol. 3: Krasnoslobodsk Uyezd, Penza. 1913. Price 1 ruble. Preface 10 pages. Text 191. Total 201 pp.*)

The Penza Zemstvo[55] is conducting a valuation and statistical investigation on the basis of a programme so full and detailed that it must arouse exceptional interest in every student of Russia's economic system.

A complete census is being taken of *all* peasant households according to an *abbreviated* household card. In addition, every third household is described according to a more detailed *brief* household card; every ninth household is described in a still fuller household card, called the *detailed* card; every *twenty-seventh* household is described in a still fuller household card, called the *special* card; and, lastly, twenty-five households in the uyezd (probably representing about one-thousandth of the total households) gave their *budgets* in still greater detail.

In all, we have *five* degrees of more or less detailed investigation, and the fuller programme contains all the questions that are included in the abbreviated programme. In the preface, the authors indicate the degree of fullness of each of these *five* descriptions in the following manner:

"The budget covers the entire production and consumption of the peasant household.

"The special description studies, in each household, the sale and purchase of agricultural produce and the turnover of stock-breeding (on a special form), and all the questions contained in the detailed household card.

"The detailed household card lists all the properties, undertakings and occupations of the members of the household, registers the sex, age and literacy of the members of the family and the value of livestock, dead stock and buildings, and records the incomes from undertakings and occupations and crops, and expenditure on hiring labour.

"The brief household card contains only data on the sex, age and literacy of the members of the family, and lists their properties, undertakings and occupations, livestock and dead stock.

"The abbreviated household card registers the size of the family divided according to sex, the number of male workers, the properties and undertakings of the family, except rented land, the principal livestock, the literacy and outside occupations of the male workers and also the number of boys and girls attending school."

It is to be regretted that the volume contains no appendix with a full list of the questions contained in all the five types of descriptions. Only the briefest ("abbreviated") household card is appended, and this gives (approximately) a no less detailed description of the households than is given in the cards used in agricultural censuses organised on European lines.

It may be said without exaggeration that if the Penza statisticians investigate the whole gubernia according to the above programme the data they will collect will be almost ideal. Let us assume that there are 270,000 households in the gubernia (actually the figure is probably higher). This will give us 90,000 descriptions containing data on the amount of land rented, and on all the live and dead stock; it will also give us 30,000 descriptions containing data on the crops (*of each household*), on expenditure on hired labour, and value of farm implements and buildings. It will give us a further 10,000 descriptions of the sale and purchase of agricultural produce as well as the "turnover of stock-breeding" (i.e., probably a precise description of the conditions under which livestock is kept and fed, the productivity of stock-breeding, etc.). And lastly, it will give us *two hundred and fifty* budgets which, counting ten typical groups of peasant households, will give *exhaustive* descriptions of *each* group based on twenty-five budgets per group, i.e., quite sufficient to obtain steady averages.

In short, if this programme is fulfilled, peasant husbandry in the Penza Gubernia will have been studied magnificently, and far better than in West-European censuses (which, it is true, cover the whole country, not a gubernia).

The whole point is, how these excellent data will be *tabulated*. That is the main difficulty. Herein lies the weakest spot of our Zemstvo statistics, which as far as thoroughness and care for detail are concerned, are splendid. The data on each of the 300,000 households (or each of the 90,000, 30,000 or 10,000) may be splendid, but if they are not properly tabulated they will be utterly useless for scientific purposes, for an understanding of Russia's economics, inasmuch as general averages per village commune, volost, uyezd or gubernia, tell us very little.

It is precisely at the present time that semi-medieval (patriarchal and feudal) agriculture in Russia is undergoing a process of capitalist transformation. This process started over half a century ago. During this long period of time, a vast amount of miscellaneous *information* on the various features of this process has been collected in Russian economic literature. The important thing now is that this mass of Zemstvo statistics, so admirable in details, thoroughness and authenticity, should be properly *tabulated*. These statistics must be tabulated in such a way as to *provide an answer*, a precise and objective answer, based on mass data, to *all* the questions *indicated* or outlined in the course of over half a century's analysis of the post-Reform economics of Russia (and at the present time the Stolypin agrarian legislation poses a great number of new and extremely interesting questions concerning Russia's *post-revolutionary* economics).

The statistical returns must be tabulated in such a way as to *make it possible* to study from them the process by which the old, feudal, natural economy, based on the corvée and labour service, is being destroyed and superseded by commercial, capitalist economy. No person in Russia at all familiar with politics and economics can now doubt that this process is going on. The only question is *how* to tabulate these excellent house-to-house data so as to *prevent them from being wasted*, and to facilitate the study of *all* aspects of this extremely complex and varied process.

To meet these requirements, the tabulation of the house-to-house statistics should yield the greatest number of *group and complex tables* drawn up in the most rational and detailed manner, so that *all the types* of households that have

been noted—or *evidence* of which have been noted (this is no less important)—may be studied separately. Without varied and rationally compiled group and complex tables, this wealth of house-to-house statistics will simply be wasted. That is the greatest weakness of present-day statistics, which of late have been suffering increasingly from what I would call "statistical cretinism"—an inability to see the wood for the trees; *economic types* of phenomena are submerged in a welter of figures, types that can be brought out *only* in varied and rationally compiled group and complex tables.

To be called *rationally* compiled, such tables must first of all enable one to trace the process of development of capitalism in all its ramifications and forms. Only such a tabulation can be regarded as rational as will bring into focus the best preserved types of natural economy and the various degrees to which it is being superseded by commercial and capitalist agriculture (in different areas commercial agriculture assumes different forms, drawing first one and then another branch of agriculture into the process of production for the market). The various types of economy that are in the process of transition from exclusively natural agriculture to the *sale* of labour-power (what we call "industries", which consist in the sale of labour-power) and also to the *purchase* of labour-power, should be dealt with separately in special detail. So also must the various types of households according to their level of wealth (degree of accumulation of capital, and of *opportunity* of forming and accumulating it), and according to size of aggregate agricultural production, and the size of those branches of agricultural production which in the given locality and at the given time lend themselves most easily to transformation into *commercial* agriculture or *commercial* stock-breeding, and so on and so forth.

This transformation of natural economy into *commercial* agriculture is the crux of the matter in a study of the modern economics of agriculture. The endless errors and prejudices of official, liberal-professorial, petty-bourgeois Narodnik and opportunist "theory", are due to failure to understand this transformation or to inability to trace it in its extremely varied forms.

Judging from the volume mentioned above, the work of the Penza statisticians is being performed by people who do not go about the job in bureaucratic fashion, but are really interested in their subject and capable of producing scientific research of immense value. Nevertheless this work seems to be suffering from an excess of statistical red tape or statistical zeal and from a lack of politico-economic common sense and purpose.

The volume under review contains, first of all, reference material on the villages. This material takes up a little less than one-tenth of the book. The other nine-tenths consist of tables drawn up according to village communes. Each group of peasants (according to size of holdings) in each commune in each village is given a separate horizontal line (there are altogether 1,009 for the whole uyezd) containing 139 columns. The information is given in remarkable detail. Nine-tenths of this information will probably never be required for any kind of reference even by the most inquisitive of the local inhabitants.

But remarkable detail verges on something like statistical mania when we see columns 119-139, i.e., *twenty-one* columns, giving the *relative numbers*, i.e., the percentages, for each of the thousand uyezd divisions! The statisticians have made thousands and tens of thousands of calculations for a single uyezd, which even the local inhabitants may need only in highly exceptional cases. The statisticians have made about 15,000 to 20,000 calculations, of which probably *only* a dozen or two will be needed by local inhabitants *alone*, who could have made these calculations *themselves* on the rare occasions they required them.

The vast labour wasted by the statisticians detracts from the amount of work they are able (with the available personnel and the available budget—the Zemstvo budgets provide very modest funds for statistics!) to devote to investigation. The volume under review contains thousands of figures constituting an unnecessary statistical "luxury", but it does *not* contain *a single* summary. All summaries have been left for subsequent volumes. In the first place, we are not sure that other volumes will appear, nor can the Russian Zemstvo statisticians, who are too dependent on police tyranny, be sure of this. And secondly, without a

test being made of the various group and complex tables according to uyezd, it is never possible to obtain a full and scientifically satisfactory system of summarised, group and complex tables according to gubernia.

So far we have a deplorable fact—a volume of Zemstvo statistics of negligible, almost negatory scientific value, on which an immense amount of labour has been wasted, and which contains a wealth of valuable and up-to-date data (*the result of the law of November 9*!) that have not been summarised, collated, grouped, or combined.

We shall mention at least some of the groups that could and should have been established in order to render this wealth of Zemstvo statistics serviceable. The uyezd and the gubernia should be divided into districts showing where commercial agriculture of the various types is most prevalent (the distilling of liquor from grain and potatoes; the sale of dairy products; butter and oil making; special commercial crops, and so on, and so forth); then according to the prevalence of non-agricultural and migratory industries; conditions of landlord economy (the nearness of landed estates, or the absence of same; the predominance of serf-like corvée, labour service, métayage, share-cropping, and so forth, or of capitalist, landlord farming employing hired labour); also the degree to which commerce and capitalist turnover in general are developed (an extremely important division which must positively be made as an elementary requirement of political economy, and which can easily be made, although that is usually not done: that is to say, to group villages according to their distance from railways, market-places, trade centres, and so forth); according to size of village (in the Krasnoslobodsk Uyezd there are about 30,000 households distributed over 278 villages, but 19 of the largest villages have a total of 9,000 households; in all probability the conditions vary).

It is desirable and necessary to group households not only according to the size of their holdings but also according to the crop area (in their preface the compilers say that peasant farming in Penza Gubernia is conducted "mainly on the peasants' own land and not on rented land"; but this statement is too sweeping, and the question of renting land is of vast importance and should be elaborated in detail);

likewise, according to the area under commercial crops, wherever and whenever they are to be observed and can be itemised; further, according to "industries" (but not in the crude way that this is usually done, as if in mockery of political economy, by taking "households with members engaged in industries" and those without such members; it is absolutely necessary to indicate the status of the person in the industry: households in which a large, medium, or small number of the members go out to work as hired labourers; households which own small or large establishments employing a small, medium or large number of wage-workers, and so forth), and according to the number of livestock owned (this has partly been done in this volume), etc.

Complex tables, ten of them, say, with the households divided (again approximately) into ten groups according to the various indications of capitalism's penetration into agriculture, would give—assuming that we have 80 columns—8,000 new calculations, i.e., would take up much less space than the 20,000 worthless calculations of percentages for each separate village commune.

The scientific value of such varied complex tables which show the great diversity of forms in which agriculture and the agriculturalist are subordinated to the market, would be tremendous. It may be said without exaggeration that they would revolutionise the science of agricultural economics.

Prosveshcheniye No. 1,
January 1914
Signed: *V. Ilyin*

Published according to
the text in *Prosveshcheniye*

BOOK REVIEW

Labour Protection Exhibits at the All-Russia Hygiene Exhibition in St. Petersburg in 1913.
St. Petersburg 1913. Pp. 78. Price not indicated.

This extremely useful book briefly catalogues the material on labour protection exhibited at the All-Russia Hygiene Exhibition. It contains a vast amount of valuable statistical data on a number of questions affecting the lives of the workers, such as the number of workers employed in various industries, female and child labour, the working day and wages, sanitary conditions and labour protection, sickness and mortality among the workers, alcoholism, workers' insurance, and so on and so forth.

Appended is an excellent index to the literature on labour protection.

The absence, in many cases, of absolute figures (only percentages are given) is a shortcoming of the book, as is the absence of a general *subject* index that would enable the reader quickly to find the data he needed on different questions.

It would be desirable to have these faults eliminated in subsequent editions. All who are interested in the labour question, and all trade unions, insurance and other working-class organisations, will undoubtedly avail themselves of this book. Subsequent editions can and should make this book a systematic catalogue of material on questions concerning the conditions and protection of labour in Russia.

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THE LIBERALS' CORRUPTION OF THE WORKERS

The boycott, or rather the frothy radical chatter that is increasingly becoming the sole content of liquidator writings, often obscures from the reader the *principles* underlying liquidator propaganda. That is exactly what the liberal-labour politicians are after—that amidst the din, hullabaloo, and fireworks of radical claptrap the workers should more easily swallow bourgeois platitudes *against* the Marxist organisation.

But class-conscious workers will not be deceived by the rantings of sham "political campaigns" launched by the disruptors of the workers' organisation. What class-conscious workers appreciate most of all and first of all in every press organ is adherence to high principle. What are the workers really being taught under cover of the "opposition" claptrap, clamour and claims to defend the interests of the workers?—that is the main, the basic and, properly speaking, the only important question that every thinking worker asks himself. The thinking worker knows that the most dangerous of advisers are those liberal friends of the workers who claim to be defending their interests, but are actually trying to destroy the class independence of the proletariat and its organisation.

It is therefore our bounden duty to open the workers' eyes to the manner in which the liquidators are destroying the organisation. Take, for example, the programmatic leading article in the New Year's issue of the liquidators' organ. We are told:

> "The working class is heading towards a political party of the proletariat, which will function openly and be sufficiently powerful and broad to resist the efforts of any political regime to deprive it of all rights, to deprive it of the possibility of fulfilling its normal functions of political leadership."

There you have an example of "*normal*" liberal claptrap in all its glory! No sensible liberal would refuse to raise both hands in favour of this splendid formula, by means of which the liquidator newspaper tries to *conceal* the fact that it is "heading" and striving towards the destruction of everything the proletariat has during the last twenty years achieved in the way of Marxist organisation, at the cost of so much effort.

Further on it is still more candid:

"The road to the open political party of action is also the road to Party unity."

It has been stated thousands and thousands of times, in the most formal and most solemn declarations, stated as far back as 1908 and 1910, that this kind of talk is tantamount to renouncing, to liquidating, the past. But the liquidators, nothing daunted, go on harping on the same theme in the hope of deceiving some terribly ignorant people with their outcries about "unity".

Traitors to the entire Marxist past clamouring about an "open party"—and "unity"!... Why, this is an insult to the class-conscious workers. It is an insult even to the "August" Conference of 1912, at which a handful of naïve people believed that the liquidators had abandoned the shameful liberal slogan of an open party.

But the whole point is that this gang of liberal hacks, all those F. D.'s, Gammas, L. M.'s, Em-El's, Rakitins,[56] etc., etc., are waging *their* liberal campaign to destroy the Marxist organisation, deliberately flouting the resolutions of both 1908 and 1910, and trying to deceive the non-class-conscious workers. They think there are still ignorant people about, who will believe their promises of an "open party" and fail to see that this is simply a variety of the liberal campaign against the existence of the genuine Marxist organisation! And whilst there are ignorant people about, this handful of liberal hacks, who seek to liquidate the past, will continue their dirty work, no matter how many times they are told that "unity" with these disruptors and disorganisers is an absurdity and a fraud.

The New Year "leaderist" of the liquidator newspaper does not stand alone. He is backed by all the liquidators,

Mr. P. Karpov, for example, who, in issue No. 5 (123) of *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*, assures us that

> "overcoming [all the obstacles that are put in the way of organising workers' congresses] is nothing more nor less than a genuine struggle for freedom of association, i.e., for the legalisation of the working-class movement, which is closely linked with the struggle for the open existence of the workers' Social-Democratic Party".

No liberal or even Octobrist will deny sympathy with the struggle for the legalisation of the working-class movement! No liberal will utter a sound of protest against an "open party"; he will even support those who advocate it as his best accomplices in fooling the workers.

In fulfilment of our duty, we shall never tire of repeating to the class-conscious workers that advocacy of an open workers' party is empty liberal chatter, designed to corrupt the workers and to destroy the Marxist organisation. The latter *cannot* exist and grow unless a determined and relentless struggle is waged against those who are directing all their efforts towards destroying the Marxist organism, into which the upsurge of the last two years has infused new and healthy blood.

Put Pravdy No. 9,
January 31, 1914
Signed: *K. T.*

Published according to
the text in *Put Pravdy*

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

In his letter, published in *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 16, A. Bogdanov concealed the main reason for his disagreement with *Pravda*.

That reason is that A. Bogdanov has for many years been opposing the philosophy of Marxism and upholding bourgeois idealist views against the materialism of Marx and Engels.

For that reason, the Marxist Bolsheviks several years ago considered it their duty to come out against Bogdanov. For the same reason the Marxist Mensheviks, in the person of G. V. Plekhanov, are conducting a literary struggle against Bogdanov. And lastly, for the very same reason, even the so-called *Vperyod* group[57] has broken with Bogdanov.

True, ever since Bogdanov began to contribute to *Pravda*, we doubted whether he would refrain from carrying his fight against the philosophy of Marxism into the columns of the workers' newspaper. Unfortunately, A. Bogdanov hastened to confirm our fears. After getting several small popular articles on innocuous subjects, published in *Pravda*, he shortly submitted an article entitled "Ideology", in which, in the most "popular" manner, he launched an attack upon the philosophy of Marxism. *The editors refused to publish that anti-Marxist article. This was the cause of the conflict.*

We advise A. Bogdanov, instead of complaining about "family rows" to get *that* article entitled "Ideology" *published* (the liquidationist newspaper will not, of course, refuse hospitality to an anti-Marxist article). All Marxists will then be able to see the real reason for our disagreement with Bogdanov, concerning which he said *not a word* in his lengthy letter.

We believe that the workers have set up a newspaper of their own in order that it should *advocate* Marxism, and not have its columns used to distort Marxism in the spirit of bourgeois "scholars".

We are also very glad that A. Bogdanov has once again raised the question of the article on the *Vperyod* group, which he sent to *Pravda* last summer. Since A. Bogdanov desires it, he will receive (in *Prosveshcheniye*) a detailed statement about the number of untruths that article contained, and about the immense harm that adventurist group has caused the working-class movement in Russia.*

Put Pravdy No. 9,
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* See pp. 487-93 of this volume.—*Ed.*

THE LIQUIDATORS' LEADER ON THE LIQUIDATORS' TERMS OF "UNITY"

Every crisis, every turning-point in any movement, is particularly interesting (and particularly useful to those who belong to it) in that it brings into clear and sharp focus that movement's fundamental trends, its fundamental laws.

The International Socialist Bureau's decision to arrange an "exchange of opinions" among all groups in Russia's working-class movement also marks a certain crisis or turning-point in the movement. It will undoubtedly be very useful "loyally", as the resolution of the International Socialist Bureau expresses it, i.e., sincerely, to "exchange opinions" before an authoritative international body. It will make *everybody* take a closer and more serious look *at the course* of the working-class movement in Russia.

We ought to be extremely grateful to Mr. F. D., the well-known leader of the liquidators, for having *of his own accord* published in *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 108 an extremely valuable statement of his views on "amalgamation", covered with only a thin veil of convention and bashfulness. Our best greetings to Mr. F. D.! It is pleasanter by far to talk with the opponent *himself* than with muddled or feeble go-betweens, etc.!

With praiseworthy candour Mr. F. D. sets forth and compares *two* points of view on amalgamation: one of them he rejects as "profoundly erroneous"; the other he approves of and adheres to.

This is how Mr. F. D. sets forth the first point of view:

"One may argue thus: the differences among the Social-Democratic trends in Russia are negligible. Therefore, on the grounds of their negligibility, we must, with help from the International, devise

some *organisational form* of amalgamation—either federation, or a certain quota restricting the powers of any majority. Once an acceptable *external form* of unity' is found, the negligible differences will 'vanish' of themselves—everything will come right in the end."

Mr. F. D. calls this point of view "profoundly erroneous", without, however, naming its advocates (Trotsky, Kautsky, and all the "conciliators" in general). The veil of convention and bashfulness must have prevented Mr. F. D. from mentioning the well-known names of the supporters of this "profoundly erroneous" idea! But *actually* concealment of the truth benefits only the opponents of the working class!

Thus, the views of the conciliators are "profoundly erroneous". Why is that?

In answering this question Mr. F. D. winds the veil thrice round his bashful face. "It will explode," he says, "it will lead to collapse", "*be the differences great or small*!"

The words quoted in italics give Mr. F. D. away completely. Murder will out, however you "veil" it.

With the full candour you reveal, Mr. F. D., your petty evasions are useless and ridiculous. Are the differences *negligible*, or are they *not negligible*? Give us a straight answer. There is no middle course, for the point at issue is whether unity is *possible* (*yes*, *it is possible* if the differences are negligible, or small) or impossible (*no*, *it is impossible* if the differences are *not* "negligible").

In condemning the "negligible" differences, Mr. F. D. admitted *thereby* that the disagreements are important. But he was afraid to say so openly (what would the "Seven"[58] say? What would Trotsky, the Bundists, An,[59] and all the conciliators say?). He tried to wrap his answer in a long-winded and deadly dull discourse *on the second* point of view on unity.

But even in this long-winded discourse it is not difficult to get to the heart of the matter:

"This platform [i.e., the one that Mr. F. D. considers desirable and acceptable] must ensure the non-Leninists full opportunity, within the united Social-Democratic Party, to campaign and fight for the open existence of Social-Democracy."

Enough! Quite enough, Mr. F. D.! This is the real gist of the matter, not phrases or declamations.

To ensure the liquidators full opportunity to fight the "underground"—that is what Mr. F. D.'s "platform" amounts to, since everybody understands perfectly well that the fig-leaf of a "fight for open existence" is intended to cover up the fight against the "underground", which all workers know is being waged.

That is the crux of the matter, and all those Trotskys, Ans, Bundists; conciliators, "Sevens", and so forth, are nice people, but political nonentities. The heart of the matter is in Mr. F. D.'s group, the "old" group of liquidators.

The Marxist organisation's differences with this group are absolutely irreconcilable, for agreement (let alone unity), not only with those who repudiate the "underground", but even with those who have any doubts on that score, is totally out of the question. The workers have long realised that this is the crux of the matter as far as the liquidators are concerned, for they *dismissed the latter from office* in *all* fields of the working-class movement.

There was a time when the Marxist organisation condemned the liquidators (1908-09). That time has long passed away. There was a time when the Marxist organisation proclaimed forgiveness and peace to all who were prepared to renounce liquidationism (1910-11). That time has long ago passed away. There was a time when the Marxists re-established their organisation, *in opposition* to the liquidators (1912-13). That time, too, has passed away. Then came a time when the Marxist organisation *won over* the overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers, in opposition to all and sundry liquidators together with *their* allies.

This has been proved by incontrovertible facts. The proportion of Bolshevik deputies elected by the worker curia rose from 47 per cent in the Second Duma elections to 50 per cent in the Third Duma elections, and to 67 per cent in the Fourth Duma elections (autumn 1912). In the course of 21 months, between January 1, 1912 and October 1, 1913, the Party rallied *two thousand* workers' groups, while the liquidators and *all* their allies united only *five hundred*. Not only have Mr. F. D. and his friends made no attempt to refute these incontrovertible facts, but *they themselves*, speaking through Mr. Rakitin in the columns of *Nasha*

Zarya,[60] have admitted that the *masses of the workers* support the Bolsheviks.

Clearly, anyone who offers the Marxist organisation a "platform" giving the liquidators "every opportunity" to liquidate that organisation—anyone who, "in the name of unity", flouts the will of the vast majority of the class-conscious workers, is simply making a mockery of "unity".

Do you want unity? Then renounce liquidationism unequivocally, renounce the "fight for open existence", and submit loyally to the majority. You do not want unity? You may please yourself, but do not complain if, in a few months' time, you will have no worker following left at all, and you will have become not "near-Party" but "near-Cadet" intellectuals.

Put Pravdy No. 12,
February 4, 1914
Signed: *K. T.*

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A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL PROGRAMME IN AUSTRIA AND IN RUSSIA

In Austria the national programme of the Social-Democratic Party was discussed and adopted at the Brünn Congress in 1899. There is a very widespread but mistaken opinion that this Congress adopted what is known as "cultural-national autonomy". The reverse is true: the latter was *unanimously rejected* there.

The South-Slav Social-Democrats submitted to the Brünn Congress (see p. XV of the official Minutes of the Congress in German) a programme of cultural-national autonomy worded as follows:

(§2) "every nation inhabiting Austria, *irrespective of the territory on which its members reside*, shall constitute an autonomous group which shall quite independently administer all its national (language and cultural) affairs".

The words underlined by us clearly express the *gist* of "cultural-national autonomy" (otherwise called extra-territorial). The state is to perpetuate the delimitation of nations in educational and similar affairs, and every citizen is free to register with any nation he pleases.

At the Congress this programme was defended both by Kristan and the influential Ellenbogen. It was later withdrawn, however. Not a single vote was cast for it. Victor Adler, the Party's leader, said, "... I doubt whether anybody would at present consider this plan practicable" (p. 82 of the Minutes).

One of the arguments against it, on principle, was advanced by Preussler, who said: "The proposals tabled by comrades Kristan and Ellenbogen would result in chauvinism being perpetuated and introduced into every tiny community, into every tiny group" (ibid., p. 92).

Clause 3 of the Brünn Congress programme relevant to this subject reads as follows:

"The self-governing *regions* of a given nation shall form a single national association which shall settle all its national affairs quite autonomously."

This is a *territorialist* programme which *directly precludes*, for example, *Jewish* cultural-national autonomy. Otto Bauer, the principal theoretician of "cultural-national autonomy", devoted a *special chapter* of his book (1907) to proving that "cultural-national autonomy" for the Jews could not be demanded.

We would mention on this issue that Marxists stand for full freedom of association, including the association of any national regions (uyezds, volosts, villages, and so forth); but Social-Democrats cannot possibly agree to having statutory *recognition* given to single *national associations* within the state.

In Russia, as it happens, *all* the Jewish bourgeois parties (as well as the Bund, which actually follows in their wake) *adopted* the programme of "extra-territorial (cultural-national) autonomy", which was rejected by all the Austrian theoreticians and by the Congress of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party!

This fact, which the Bundists for quite obvious reasons have often tried to deny, can be easily verified by a reference to the well-known book, *Forms of the National Movement* (St. Petersburg, 1910)—see also *Prosveshcheniye* No. 3, 1913.

This fact clearly shows that the more backward and more petty-bourgeois social structure of Russia has resulted in some of the Marxists becoming much more infected with bourgeois nationalism.

The Bund's nationalist vacillations were formally and unequivocally condemned long ago by the *Second* (1903) Congress, which *flatly rejected* the amendment moved by the Bundist Goldblatt on "the setting up of institutions guaranteeing freedom of development for the nationalities" (a pseudonym for "cultural-national autonomy").

When, at the August 1912 Conference of liquidators, the Caucasian Mensheviks, who until then had for decades

been strenuously fighting the Bund, themselves slipped into nationalism, under the influence of the entire *nationalist* atmosphere of the counter-revolution, the Bolsheviks *were not the only ones* to condemn them. The Caucasian Menshevik s were also emphatically condemned by the Menshevik Plekhanov, who described their decision as "the adaptation of socialism to nationalism".

"The Caucasian comrades," Plekhanov wrote, "who have begun to talk about cultural autonomy instead of political autonomy, have merely certified the fact that they have unwisely submitted to the hegemony of the Bund."

Besides the Jewish bourgeois parties, the Bund and the liquidators, "cultural-national autonomy" was adopted only by the conference of the petty-bourgeois national parties of the Left-Narodnik trend. But even here four parties (the Jewish Socialist Labour Party; the Byelorussian Hromada; the Dashnaktsutyun and the Georgian Socialists-Federalists[61]), adopted this programme, while the two largest parties *abstained from voting*: these were the Russian Left Narodniks and the Polish "Fracy" (P.S.P.)!

The Russian Left Narodniks expressed particular opposition to the *compulsory*, legal-state associations of nationalities proposed in the famous Bund plan.

From this brief historical survey it is clear why both the February and the summer conferences of Marxists in 1913 emphatically condemned the petty-bourgeois and nationalist idea of "cultural-national autonomy".*

Put Pravdy No. 13,
February 5, 1914
Signed: *M.*

Published according to the text in *Put Pravdy*

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* See present edition, Vol. 18, p. 461 and Vol. 19, pp. 427-28.—*Ed.*

A HIGHBORN LIBERAL LANDLORD ON THE "NEW ZEMSTVO RUSSIA"

Deafened by liberal catch-phrases, people in our country are apt to overlook the actual class stand of the liberal party's real bosses. In *Russkaya Mysl* No. 12, Prince Yevgeny Trubetskoi has splendidly revealed this stand and strikingly shown to what extent liberal landlords like the Trubetskois, and reactionary landlords like the Purishkeviches have drawn closer together on all important issues.

Stolypin's agrarian policy[62] is one such momentous issue. The highborn liberal landlord has this to say of it:

> "Ever since Stolypin became Premier, the government's entire concern for the countryside has been prompted largely by two motives: fear of Pugachovism,[63] which caused so much trouble in 1905, and the desire to offset it with a new type of peasant—one who is well-to-do and therefore cherishes private property, one who will not be susceptible to revolutionary propaganda...."

By the very use of the word "Pugachovism" our liberal reveals that he is at one with the Purishkeviches. The only difference is that the Purishkeviches utter this word ferociously and menacingly, whereas the Trubetskois pronounce it in the dulcet and sugary Manilov manner,[64] to the accompaniment of phrases about culture, disgustingly hypocritical exclamations about the "new peasant communities" and the "democratisation of the countryside", and pathetic speeches on things divine.

Owing to the new agrarian policy, the peasant bourgeoisie is growing much faster than before. There is no question about that. The peasant bourgeoisie in Russia cannot help growing whatever the political and agrarian system may be, because Russia is a capitalist country which has been completely drawn into the orbit of world capitalism. His

Liberal Highness would have known this had he possessed at least an elementary knowledge of the "fundamental principles of Marxism", of which he speaks with such boundless *aplomb* and with equally boundless ignorance. But His Highness exerts every effort to obscure the fundamental question of what the development of capitalism is like *without* any Purishkeviches, and what it is like *with* their class in complete power. His Highness goes into ecstasies over the progress of co-operation, fodder grass cultivation, and "growing prosperity"; but he does not say a word about the high cost of living, the mass pauperisation of the peasants, their desperate poverty and starvation, about labour rent, and so forth. His Highness sees that the "peasants are turning bourgeois", and goes into raptures over it, but our liberal landlord turns a blind eye to the fact that they are becoming wage-labourers under conditions in which the relations of feudal bondage are preserved.

"The intelligentsia's first contact with the broad masses of the peasantry," he writes, "took place as far back as 1905, but at that time it bore an altogether different character; it was destructive rather than constructive. At that time the affiliation was established solely for the purpose of destroying the old forms of life, and was therefore superficial. The demagogue intellectual did not imbue the peasants' minds and peasant life with his own independent ideas; if anything, he himself was guided by the instincts of the masses of the people. He flattered them and adapted his party programme and tactics to them."

Familiar Purishkevich-style talk! A little example: if eighty peasant homesteads of twenty-five dessiatines each are set up on 2,000 dessiatines of the Trubetskois' land, that will be "destructive"; but if a score or so of such homesteads are set up on the land of the pauperised village-commune peasants, that will be "constructive". Is that not so, Your Highness? Don't you realise that in the first instance, Russia would really be "bourgeois-democratic", and in the second she would remain Purishkevichian for decades to come?

However, shying away from unpleasant questions, the highborn liberal assures his readers that the big landowners, who are selling their land, will "soon, very soon" disappear entirely.

"If, by its measures, the government does not accelerate the future revolution excessively, 'compulsory alienation' will no longer be a problem when that revolution does come, as there will be almost nothing left to alienate."

According to the latest statistics of the Ministry of the Interior,[65] 30,000 landlords owned 70,000,000 dessiatines of land in 1905, while a similar area was owned by 10,000,000 peasants. But that does not concern the highborn liberal in the least! He assures his readers that the Purishkeviches will disappear very "soon", because he wishes to defend the Purishkeviches. The only thing that really interests him is that:

"there will be in the countryside enough people interested in private property to counter, not only Pugachov propaganda, but socialist propaganda in all its forms".

Thanks for being so candid!

"What will the result be?" the liberal prince asks. "Will the government, with the aid of the intelligentsia [who are joining co-operative societies, etc.], re-educate the peasants to become loyal petty landed proprietors, or, on the contrary, will the intelligentsia educate them with the aid of government loans?"

The prince anticipates neither of these alternatives. But that is merely a hypocritical turn of speech. Actually, as we have seen, he stands heart and soul for peasants being re-educated to become "loyal petty landed proprietors", and assures us that "the intelligentsia is coming down to earth", and that there will be no room for the "demagogic agrarian programme" of the socialists (which, in the opinion of His Highness, runs counter to the "fundamental principles of Marxism". Don't laugh, reader!).

That a landlord should entertain such views is not surprising. Neither is his indignation at the growth of atheism surprising, or his pious speeches. What is surprising is that there are still foolish people in Russia who do not understand that while such landlords and such politicians set the tone in the liberal party, including the Cadet Party, it is ridiculous to hope that the people's interests can be really defended "with the co-operation" of the liberals and the Cadets.

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NARODISM AND THE CLASS OF WAGE-WORKERS

The tenth anniversary of the death of the liberal-Narodnik writer Mikhailovsky has provided the Narodniks with a pretext for reviving the old dispute about the significance of the Marxists' struggle against the Narodniks. That dispute is of no little interest: first, historically, since the rise of Marxism in Russia was the point at issue; second, theoretically, since the dispute concerned the fundamental questions of Marxist theory; and third, practically, *inasmuch as* the Left-Narodnik newspaper in St. Petersburg is trying to win the workers over to its side. Mr. Rakitnikov, the Narodnik, writes:

> "Nobody, of course, now puts the case the way it was put in the sixties and seventies, viz., whether Russia can avoid the phase of capitalism. Russia is already in that phase."

This interesting statement by a Left Narodnik brings us straightaway to the gist of the matter. Is it true that the question as to whether "Russia can avoid the phase of capitalism" was discussed only in the sixties and seventies? No. It is absolutely untrue. This question was discussed by the Narodniks in general, and by the contributors to *Russkoye Bogatstvo*[66] (i.e., members of Mikhailovsky's group) in particular, both in the eighties and the nineties. It is sufficient to mention Mr. Nikolai—on,[67] for example.

Why then, did Mr. Rakitnikov *conceal* the eighties and the nineties from his readers? Was it merely to cover up the Narodniks' errors, and thus help to spread them among the workers? This is a shabby trick, and things must be going bad with those who resort to such tricks.

What are the implications of the theory that "Russia can avoid the phase of capitalism", a theory that was propounded by Mikhailovsky and his group, and survived right down to the nineties of the last century?

That was the theory of utopian, petty-bourgeois socialism, i.e., the *dream* of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, who sought a way of escape from capitalism *not in the wage-workers' class struggle* against the bourgeoisie, but in *appeals* to the "entire nation", to "society", *that is*, *to that very same bourgeoisie*.

Prior to the rise of the working-class movement, such theories of "socialism" were prevalent in all countries and they merely reflected in fact the hopes of petty-bourgeois theoreticians that the class struggle could be avoided, dispensed with. In all countries, as in Russia, the class-conscious working-class movement had to wage a persistent struggle against these petty-bourgeois doctrines of "socialism" which were in keeping with the status and point of view of the petty proprietors.

The working-class movement cannot exist or develop successfully until this theory of the benevolent petty proprietors regarding the possibility of "avoiding" capitalism is refuted. By covering up the fundamental mistake of the Mikhailovsky group, Mr. Rakitnikov is bringing confusion into the theory of the *class struggle*. Nevertheless it is this theory alone that has shown the workers the way out of their present conditions, shown how the workers themselves can and should endeavour to achieve their emancipation.

"Russia is already in the phase of capitalism," writes Mr. Rakitnikov.

This remarkable admission is tantamount to admitting the fundamental error of Mikhailovsky and his group.

Moreover, it is tantamount to a complete renunciation of Narodism.

The Left Narodniks who are in agreement with this admission are now fighting the Marxists not as Narodniks, but as opportunists in the socialist movement, as supporters of petty-bourgeois deviations from socialism.

Indeed, if "Russia is already in the phase of capitalism", it follows that Russia is a capitalist country. It follows that

in Russia, as in all capitalist countries, the *petty proprietors*, including the peasants, are petty bourgeois. It follows that in Russia, as in all capitalist countries, the wage-workers' class struggle against the bourgeoisie is the only way in which socialism can be achieved.

To this day the programme of the Left Narodniks (not to mention their *Russkoye Bogatstvo* friends) dares not admit that Russia is a capitalist country. Mr. Rakitnikov defends Narodism by *surrendering* the Narodniks' programme to the Marxists! A poor defence!

Mr. Rakitnikov argues with the Marxists not like a Narodnik but like an opportunist when he says:

> "to support peasant farming does not mean battling against the stream of inexorable economic development. *And an increasing number of socialists in the West is adopting this point of view.*"

We have emphasised the words that completely betray our poor "Left Narodnik"! We know that in the West the class of wage-workers *alone* has been able as a class to form socialist parties. We know that in the West the *peasantry* as a class forms, not socialist but bourgeois parties. We know that it is *not* the socialists, but the opportunists in the West who support petty-bourgeois farming.

"To support peasant farming!..." Look about you. Peasant *proprietors* are forming associations to market grain, hay, milk and meat at the highest prices, and to hire labour at the lowest. The freer the peasants are and the more land they possess, the clearer do we see this.

Mr. Rakitnikov is trying to persuade the class of wage-workers to "support petty-bourgeois farming". A fine sort of "socialism", indeed!

The wage-workers support only the peasants' struggle against the feudalists and the serf-like conditions, but that is quite different from what Mr. Rakitnikov wants.

In Russia, the great years of 1905-07 definitely proved that the wage-workers were the only class to act and rally as a socialist force. The peasantry acted and rallied as a bourgeois-democratic force. With the development of capitalism the difference between the classes becomes more marked from day to day.

"Left-Narodnik" propaganda amounts, in effect, to the corruption and disruption of the wage-workers' class movement with the aid of petty-bourgeois slogans. The Left Narodniks would be well advised to turn to democratic work among the peasants—that is something which even *non*-socialists can do.

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Signed: *V. I.*

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MORE ABOUT "NATIONALISM"

"In our day", when attempts are being made to stage another Beilis case, the nationalists' propaganda could bear more frequent scrutiny. The nature of this propaganda was revealed with striking clarity at the recent second congress of representatives of the "All-Russia National Association".

It would be highly erroneous to think that the significance of this propaganda is negligible inasmuch as this entire "All-Russia Association", which was represented only by 21 delegates from all over Russia, is negligible and fictitious, a mere shadow. The "All-Russia National Association" is insignificant and a shadow, but its propaganda is backed by all the parties of the right and by all the *official* institutions; its propaganda is conducted in every village school, in every military barrack, and in every church.

The following is a press report of a paper read at this congress on February 2.

"Savenko, a member of the Duma, read a paper on 'Mazeppism',[68] as the Ukrainian movement is called in the jargon of the nationalists. Savenko expressed the opinion that the separatist tendencies [i.e., for secession from the state] among the Byelorussians and the Ukrainians were particularly dangerous. The Ukrainian movement constituted a specially great and real menace to the integrity of Russia. The immediate programme of the Ukrainians was federalism and Ukrainian autonomy.

"The Ukrainians linked their hopes of autonomy with the defeat of Russia in a future war with Austria-Hungary and Germany. On the ruins of Great Russia an autonomous Poland and an autonomous Ukraine would be founded under the sceptre of the Habsburgs and within the boundaries of Austria-Hungary.

"If the Ukrainians really succeeded in tearing their 30,000,000 away from the Russian people, it would mean the end of the Great-Russian Empire. (*Applause.*)"

Why is this "federalism" no obstacle to the integrity of the United States, or of Switzerland? Why is "autonomy"

no obstacle to the integrity of Austria-Hungary? Why has "autonomy" even cemented the ties between Britain and many of her colonies for a long time to come?

Mr. Savenko has presented his case for "nationalism" in such a ridiculous light that he has made it extremely easy to refute his ideas. The integrity of Russia, if you please, is "menaced" by the autonomy of the Ukraine, whereas the integrity of Austria-Hungary is *cemented* by universal suffrage and the autonomy of her various regions! Is not this very strange? Will it not occur to those who read and hear this "nationalist" propaganda to ask why it is impossible to *cement* the integrity of Russia *by granting* autonomy to the Ukraine?

By persecuting "subject peoples", the landlord and bourgeois nationalists try to split and corrupt the working class the better to be able to dope it. The class-conscious workers retaliate by demanding complete equality and *unity* for the workers of all nationalities *in practice*.

In declaring the Byelorussians and Ukrainians to be subject peoples, the nationalist gentry forget to add that the Great Russians (the only non-"aliens" in Russia) constitute only 43 per cent of the population. Hence, the "subject peoples" are in the majority! How then can the minority keep its hold on the majority if it offers the latter no *benefits*, the benefits of political freedom, national equality, and local and regional autonomy?

By persecuting the Ukrainians and others for their "separatism", for their secessionist strivings, the nationalists are upholding the *privilege* of the Great-Russian landlords and the Great-Russian bourgeoisie to have "their own" state. The working class is opposed to *all* privileges; that is why it upholds the *right* of nations to self-determination.

The class-conscious workers do not advocate *secession*. They know the advantages of large states and the amalgamation of large masses of workers. But large states can be democratic only if there is complete equality among the nations; that equality implies the *right* to secede.

The struggle against national oppression and national privileges is inseparably bound up with the defence of that right.

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FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

THE PEASANTRY AND HIRED LABOUR

No phrase has been worked harder among the Narodniks than that about the Marxists "setting the working people by the ears" by drawing a line between the hired workers and the peasants and pitting one class against the other. And no phrase is more mendacious, serving as it does to cover up defence of the interests of the small proprietor, the petty bourgeois; the exploiter of the hired labourer.

The following interesting data are from the Moscow Zemstvo Statistics published in 1913 (*A Handbook of Economic Statistics*, Vol. VII, Moscow, 1913). The Moscow statisticians investigated fruit and vegetable gardening in Moscow Uyezd. The investigation covered over 5,000 households, which the statisticians divided into seven districts according to their proximity to Moscow and the degree of intensity of cultivation (i.e., expenditure of a large amount of capital and labour on each dessiatine of land).

The employment of hired labourers by the peasants was investigated in fairly great detail. What is the result?

In the first four districts the number of households employing labour is 67 per cent (i.e., over two-thirds of the total number of households); in the remaining districts it ranges from 43 to 64 per cent. Hence it is evident that the overwhelming majority of the peasant households near Moscow are the farms of petty capitalists who hire labourers.

Still more interesting are the figures showing the number of households which employ labourers by the year or season. The percentages of such households are as follows:

District	I	26.6	per cent
"	II	16.7	" "
"	III	16.4	" "
"	IV	19.0	" "
"	V	9.9	" "
"	VI	5.0	" "
"	VII	6.4	" "

As a rule, the more intensive a given district, the higher is the percentage of peasants who employ labourers by the year and the season.

The figures covering entire districts, however, lump together the poor and the rich peasants in each district. Hence, they are only very rough figures which give a *varnished* picture, for they *cover up* the contrasts between poverty and wealth, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Let us take the figures for the groups of farms classified according to amount of land held in tenure (i.e., amount of land under cultivation). These figures are far more reliable than the figures of allotment land ownership, which to this day, *even around Moscow*, retains its feudal-bureaucratic character. Among the peasants who own small allotments there are rich peasants who lease land. And among the peasants who own large allotments there are poor peasants who rent out their allotments, and landless or rather non-farming peasants.

In all districts the percentage of non-farming peasants who employ labourers is nil. That is natural. The non-farming peasant is himself a proletarian.

Peasants with farms of under half a dessiatine: the percentage of households employing labourers ranges from 0 to 57 (we are taking one of the three subgroups, so as not to complicate the question).

Farmers with between one half and one dessiatine: the percentage of households employing labourers ranges from 0 to 100.

Farmers with one to three dessiatines: the percentage of households employing labourers ranges from 46 to 100 (in different districts).

Farmers with from three to five dessiatines: the percentage of households employing labourers ranges from 66 to 97.

Farmers with from five to ten dessiatines: the percentage of households employing labourers ranges from 75 to 100.

From this we clearly see that the non-farming peasants are themselves proletarians (hired labourers). The larger the farm, *the more often* is hired labour exploited. Even among the farmers who have from three to five dessiatines, *no less than* two-thirds of the total exploit hired labour!

Such is the plain, well-known and obvious fact, which the Narodniks try to distort. What is true of the Moscow area is true, to a lesser degree, of all other places. Everyone knows that *every* town and *every* mile of railway draw peasant economy into the orbit of commerce and capitalism. The "Left Narodniks" are the only ones who refuse to see the truth, which explodes their petty-bourgeois theory.

That truth is that *every* mile of railway, *every* new shop that is opened in the village, *every* co-operative society that is formed to make buying easier, *every* factory, and so forth, draw peasant economy into the orbit of commerce. And that means that the peasantry is *breaking up* into proletarians, and *proprietors* employing hired labourers.

There can be no improvement in peasant economy that does not involve an increase in the exploitation of hired labour on the improved farms.

That is why the Marxists defend the interests of labour—and they are the only ones to do so—by distinguishing the proletarians, the hired workers, both in town and countryside.

The Narodniks, on the other hand, defend (in practice) the interests of the *exploiters* of hired labour when they talk about the "peasantry" and "peasant economy", for the more the peasant resembles a "proprietor", the *more he exploits* hired labour.

It is in the interests of the bourgeoisie (in whose footsteps the Narodniks blindly follow) to *confuse* the peasant proletariat with the peasant bourgeoisie.

It is in the interests of the proletariat to combat this confusion and to draw a clear line between classes *everywhere*, including the peasantry. It is useless deceiving oneself and others by talking about the "peasantry". We should ourselves learn and teach the peasants that even among the peasantry the gulf between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is widening day by day.

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MR. STRUVE ON THE NEED TO "REFORM THE GOVERNMENT"

Mr. Struve is one of the most outspoken of the counter-revolutionary liberals. It is often very instructive, therefore, to lend an ear to the political comments of a writer who is a striking illustration of the correctness of the Marxian analysis of opportunism (for Mr. Struve, as we know, began with opportunism, with a "criticism of Marxism", and in a few years fell as low as counter-revolutionary, bourgeois national-liberalism).

In the January issue of *Russkaya Mysl*, Mr. Struve discussed the need "to reform the government". In the first place, he admits the *failure* of the Stolypin policy,[69] as well as of the entire reaction of 1907-14 and Octobrism.[70] Reaction "faces a crisis", writes Mr. Struve. In his opinion, attempts at back-pedalling reforms, such as turning the Duma into a legislative-consultative body, will "put the government in the same position it was in before 1905", with this important difference, however, that the people have changed since then. "In 1905 the sympathies and instincts of the masses swung over to the intelligentsia."

This is written by a Vekhist,[71] a fervent opponent of revolution and an exponent of the most obscurantist theories. Even he is compelled to admit that the *masses* have swung to the left; but this liberal dares not say more plainly, clearly and exactly which classes among these masses have aligned themselves with which parties.

> "Our people has not taken shape yet, has not yet separated into its elements. The fact that it has been conservative for such a long time and gone revolutionary overnight, as it were, does not tell us what it will become when all its latent potentialities will have developed."

This is a specimen of the phrase-mongering with which the bourgeoisie *covers up* unpalatable truths. Obviously, what is implied here by the term people is the peasantry, since the bourgeoisie (let alone the landlords) and the working class have sufficiently taken shape, and are sufficiently differentiated. The liberal dares not in so many words admit that the *bourgeois peasantry* "has not yet taken shape", *despite* the frantic efforts of the new agrarian policy.

"What is the way out of the present situation?" Mr. Struve asks, and replies: "There is only a single alternative: either steadily increasing political unrest, in which the middle classes and the moderate elements that represent them ... [so the moderate elements "represent" the middle classes? This is not very intelligent but politically it is fairly clear; which elements, then, "represent" the peasantry and the workers?] will again be pushed into the background by the elemental pressure of the popular masses who will be inspired by the extreme elements, or, *the reform of government*. We shall not deal here with the first way out. Under the conditions prevailing in Russia we definitely adhere to the point of view that it is impossible for us either to work effectively towards such a solution, or even simply to desire it...." (Thank you for being so candid, Mr. Struve! Our liquidators could well take a lesson in plain-speaking and candour from this man, instead of beating about the bush the way L. M. does in the January issue of *Nasha Zarya*.)

"It is left for us to suggest to the public mind the second way out as being an urgent problem which has to be solved by the joint efforts of all progressive and, at the same time, preservatory forces."

Of this second way out Mr. Struve has absolutely nothing to say except empty phrases. The bourgeoisie is for moderation, the masses are for "extremes"—this the liberal is compelled to admit. As to what the social structure of the reformable "government" must be, what its class basis should be, and what has become of the landlords who reigned and governed unchallenged prior to the bourgeoisie—of all this Mr. Struve dares not even think. Helplessness, impotence and complete lack of principles and ideals—such are the inevitable features of the liberal bourgeoisie so long as it fawns (as Messrs. Struve and Co. do) on the Purishkeviches.

"Strange as it may appear," Mr. Struve writes, "there is nothing that we could wish the government more than that it should forget that there ever were events, facts and moods which we are accustomed to call the Russian revolution."

Splendid, profound, wise, and earnest political advice! Let the "government forget". After all, aged people do sometimes forget what is happening to them and around them!

The spokesmen of senile Russian liberalism measure others with their own yardstick.

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THE NARODNIKS ON N. K. MIKHAILOVSKY

The tenth anniversary of the death of N. K. Mikhailovsky (who died on January 28, 1904) was marked by a spate of laudatory articles in the liberal-bourgeois and Narodnik (i.e., bourgeois-democratic) press. It is not surprising that the liberals and bourgeois democrats laud N. K. Mikhailovsky, but one cannot help protesting against the flagrant distortion of the truth and the corruption of proletarian class-consciousness when attempts are made to pass Mikhailovsky off as a socialist and to prove that his bourgeois philosophy and sociology are compatible with Marxism.

Mikhailovsky was one of the finest spokesmen of Russian bourgeois democracy in the latter third of the last century. The masses of the peasantry, who (not counting the urban petty bourgeoisie) are the only important and mass vehicles of bourgeois-democratic ideas in Russia, were then still dormant. The best people from their midst, and those who deeply sympathised with their hard lot, the *raznochintsi* (mostly students, teachers and other intellectuals), tried to enlighten and rouse the dormant peasant masses.

The historic service that Mikhailovsky rendered the bourgeois-democratic movement for the liberation of Russia was that he warmly sympathised with the hard lot of the peasants, strenuously combated all manifestations of feudal tyranny, advocated in the legal, open press—if only by hints—sympathy and respect for the "underground", where the most consistent and determined *raznochintsi* democrats operated, and even gave direct personal help to the "underground". Today, when not only liberals but also liquidators, both Narodnik (*Russkoye Bogatstvo*) and Marxist, betray a shameless and often renegade attitude towards the

"underground", one cannot help putting in a good word in memory of the service rendered by Mikhailovsky.

Though he was an ardent champion of freedom and of the oppressed masses of the peasantry, Mikhailovsky shared all the weaknesses of the bourgeois-democratic movement. He thought there was something "socialistic" in the idea of transferring all the land to the peasants, especially without redemption, and therefore considered himself a "socialist". Of course, this was a profound error, which was fully revealed by Marx and by the experience of *all* civilised countries, where, until the complete collapse of serf-ownership and absolutism, the bourgeois democrats *constantly* imagined themselves to be "socialists". The transfer of all the land to the peasants, particularly on the terms indicated, is a very useful measure under the rule of the feudal-minded landlords, but it is a bourgeois-democratic measure. Today every sensible socialist is aware of that. The experience of all the world goes to show that the more land (and the cheaper) the peasants have received from the feudalists, the more "land and liberty" there has been, the *more rapidly* capitalism has developed and the *more speedily* the *bourgeois* nature of the peasants has been revealed. If Mr. N. Rakitnikov (in issue No. 3 of *Vernaya Mysl*[72]) has not yet realised that the proletariat's support of the *bourgeois*-democratic peasants against the feudal landlords is not socialism at all, one can only smile at his simplicity. It is a dull business refuting errors that have long been refuted by all class-conscious workers.

Not only in the field of economics, but also in those of philosophy and sociology, Mikhailovsky's views were *bourgeois-democratic* views veiled by *quasi*-socialist phrases. Such were his "progress formula", his "struggle for individuality" theory and so on. In philosophy Mikhailovsky was a *step backward* from Chernyshevsky, the greatest exponent of utopian socialism in Russia. Chernyshevsky was a materialist, and to the end of his days (i.e., until the eighties of the nineteenth century) he ridiculed the petty concessions to idealism and mysticism that were made by the then fashionable "positivists" (Kantians, Machists, and so forth). And Mikhailovsky trailed in the wake of these very positivists. To this very day, these reactionary philosophical

views prevail among Mikhailovsky's disciples, even among the extreme "Left" Narodniks (such as Mr. Chernov).

That the "socialism" of Mikhailovsky and the Narodniks is mere bourgeois-democratic phrase-mongering was conclusively proved by the actions of all classes and their mass struggle in 1905-07. Most of the peasant deputies in the First and Second Dumas sided, *not* with the Left Narodniks, but with the "Trudoviks"[73] and the "Popular Socialists".[74] This is a fact that must not be forgotten or distorted. And, following the Marxists, even the Left Narodniks, in the persons for example of Vikhlayev, Chernov, and others, have been compelled to admit the bourgeois nature of the Trudovik Popular Socialists!

Let individual workers who sympathise with the Left Narodniks ask their teachers to produce *everything* the Left Narodniks wrote *against* the Trudovik Popular Socialists in 1906-07.

In those years mass action by the peasants proved conclusively that the peasantry takes a *bourgeois-democratic* stand. The Left Narodniks are at best only a small wing of peasant (i.e., bourgeois) democracy in Russia. The workers have supported the peasants (against the feudal landlords), and will continue to do so, but to confuse these classes, to confuse bourgeois democracy with the socialist proletariat, is reactionary adventurism. All class-conscious workers will strenuously combat this, particularly at the present time when the class cleavage has been made quite clear by the great experience of the mass struggle of 1905-07, and is becoming clearer day by day in our rural districts.

For a very long time, over ten years in fact, Mikhailovsky was the head and guiding spirit of the *Russkoye Bogatstvo* publicist group. What did this group produce in the great days of 1905-07?

It produced the first liquidators among the democrats!

Let individual workers who sympathise with the Left Narodniks ask their teachers to show them *Russkoye Bogatstvo* for August 1906, and all that was written by the Left Narodniks when they called this group "Social-Cadets", and so forth!

The Mikhailovsky group brought forth the first liquidators who, in the autumn of 1906, proclaimed an "open party",

and renounced the "underground" and its slogans two or three years before our Marxist liquidators did so. What came of the "open party" proclaimed by the Myakotins, Peshekhonovs, and other associates of Mikhailovsky? Nothing—the complete absence of any party whatsoever, and the complete isolation of the "open" group of opportunist Narodniks from the masses.

Mikhailovsky, who never renounced the "underground" (or rather, died shortly before his group went over to liquidationism), should not be held fully responsible for the paltry and contemptible opportunism of Messrs. Peshekhonov, Myakotin and Co. But is it not characteristic that in issue No. 3 of *Vernaya Mysl*, which is dedicated to Mikhailovsky, we again find the corrupt bloc between the "Left" Narodniks and the "Social-Cadets" of *Russkoye Bogatstvo*? And if we recall what Mikhailovsky wrote to Lavrov about his attitude towards revolutionaries, shall we not have to admit that, on the whole, the "Social-Cadets" are his faithful successors?

We pay tribute to Mikhailovsky for the sincere and skilful struggle he waged against the serf-owning system, the "bureaucracy" (we beg to be excused for this loose term), and so forth, for his respect for the "underground" and the assistance he rendered it, but not for his bourgeois-democratic views, or his vacillating tendencies towards liberalism, or his "Social-Cadet" group of *Russkoye Bogatstvo*.

It is no accident that the bourgeois democrats in Russia, i.e., in the first place the peasantry, vacillate between the liberal bourgeoisie and the proletariat; that is due to their class position. It is the workers' job to liberate the peasantry from the influence of the liberals and relentlessly to combat "Narodnik" doctrines.

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CONCERNING A. BOGDANOV

The editors have received a letter signed by thirteen "Left Bolsheviks" and bearing the address "Tiflis, Caucasus", asking for our opinion on the question of having A. Bogdanov as a contributor. The signatories call themselves "ideological adherents of the *Vperyod* group", and their tone is openly and definitely hostile to our newspaper.

Nevertheless, we consider it necessary to have it out with them once and for all.

Why has it become impossible to have A. Bogdanov as a contributor to workers' newspapers and journals that adhere to a stand of consistent Marxism? Because A. Bogdanov is not a Marxist.

The writers of the letter, following the cue given by Bogdanov himself in his letter to the liquidator newspaper, try to account for A. Bogdanov's disappearance from the columns of our newspapers on personal grounds, as being due to personal spite, and so forth. All this is sheer nonsense that is not worth going into or explaining. Everything is much simpler and plainer.

If the writers of the letter were interested, not in "personalities", but in the history of the organisational and ideological relations among the Marxists, they would know that as far back as May 1909 a delegate meeting of Bolsheviks, after a long and detailed preliminary discussion, *rejected all responsibility* for A. Bogdanov's literary-political utterances.[75] If the writers of the letter attached less importance to philistine scandal and gossip and paid more attention to the ideological struggle among the Marxists, they would know that in his books A. Bogdanov has built up a definite social and philosophical system and that *all* Marxists, irrespective of group allegiance, have expressed their opposition to this

system as being non-Marxist and anti-Marxist. All who are interested in the history of Marxism and the working-class movement in Russia know—and those who do not *should make it their business* to learn, read and find out—that the question of A. Bogdanov's contributions to a workers' newspaper is bound up with a much more important question of principle, namely, the relation between Marxist philosophy and Bogdanov's theories. This question has been discussed, examined, and worked to death in books, pamphlets and articles. The question of a writer's contributions to the workers' press should be approached from the political angle, i.e., not from the point of view of the writer's style, wit, or popularising talent, but from that of his general trend, from the point of view of *what* he is bringing into the working masses by his theories. The Marxists are convinced that the sum of A. Bogdanov's literary activities amounts to attempts to instil into the consciousness of the proletariat the touched-up idealistic conceptions of the bourgeois philosophers.

If anybody thinks that this is not the case and that, in the controversy over the philosophical principles of Marxism, it is not Plekhanov and not Ilyin,[76] but Bogdanov who is right, that person should come out in support of Bogdanov's system, and not argue that one popular article or another of Bogdanov's ought to be given space in the columns of a workers' newspaper. But we know of no supporters of Bogdanov's system among Marxists. His theories have been opposed, not only by his "factional" opponents, but also by his former colleagues in his political group.

That is how the matter stands with Bogdanov. His attempts to "modify" and "correct" Marxism have been examined by Marxists and recognised as alien to the spirit of the modern working-class movement. The groups he formerly co-operated with have rejected all responsibility for his literary and other activities. One can think whatever one pleases about Bogdanov after this, but to demand that he be given space in the columns of the workers' press, which is called upon to disseminate the elementary principles of Marxism, reveals a failure to understand either Marxism, Bogdanov's theories, or the task of spreading Marxist education among the masses of the workers.

As regards the business of educating the masses of the workers, to which our newspaper is dedicated, our path and Bogdanov's diverge, for we differ in our understanding of what that education should be. That is the real issue, which, for self-interested motives, is being obscured by hints about personal relations. Workers to whom the *trend* of their newspaper is dear should brush aside as trash all these attempts to reduce the issue to the "personalities" of certain writers; they must look into the character of Bogdanov's theories. When they begin to do so they will speedily reach the conclusion we have arrived at, namely, that Marxism is one thing, and Bogdanov's theories are quite another. A workers' newspaper should clear the minds of the proletariat of bourgeois, idealistic hodge-podge, not offer them this indigestible fare in their columns.

We may be told: Nevertheless, *Pravda* did publish several of Bogdanov's articles. So it did.

But, as everyone now can see, this was a mistake inevitable in such a new undertaking as the publication of the first workers' newspaper in Russia. The comrades who were in charge at the time had hoped that, in the popular articles which Bogdanov offered the newspaper, propaganda of the ABC of Marxism would overshadow these specific features of Bogdanov's theories. As might have been expected, things turned out differently. After the first articles, which were more or less neutral, Bogdanov sent in an article in which he obviously attempted to convert the workers' newspaper into an instrument for the propaganda, not of Marxism, but of his own empirio-monism. A. Bogdanov evidently attached so much importance to this article that after it, i.e., since the spring of 1913, he sent in no more articles.

The question of Bogdanov's contributions became a matter of principle to our editorial board, who settled it in the way our readers already know.

Now a word about the *Vperyod* group. In the columns of our newspaper, it has been called "adventurist".*

Owing to their inability to think politically and not like philistines, the writers of the letter saw in this too an

* See p. 94 of this volume.—*Ed.*

insinuation against the personalities of the members of this group. This, too, is absurd. Marxists call "adventurist" the policy pursued by groups that do not take their stand on the basis of scientific socialism, such groups, for instance, as the anarchists, Narodnik terrorists, and so forth. No one will try to deny that the *Vperyod* group is leaning towards anarcho-syndicalism, or that they are tolerant of Lunacharsky's "god-building",[77] Bogdanov's idealism, and the doctrinal anarchist proclivities of S. Volsky, and so forth. Insofar as the policy of the *Vperyod* group has tended towards anarchism and syndicalism, every Marxist will call it a policy of adventurism.

This is simply a fact, which has been confirmed by the complete break-up of the *Vperyod* group. As soon as the working-class movement revived, this patchwork group, stitched together from the most heterogeneous elements, without a definite political line or understanding of the principles of class politics and Marxism, fell completely apart.

Marching under the banner of Marxism, the working-class movement will ignore these groups, these "empirio-monists", "god-builders", "anarchists", and the like.

Put Pravdy No. 21,
February 25, 1914

Published according to
the text in *Put Pravdy*

EDITORIAL COMMENT ON VETERAN'S ARTICLE: "THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE LETTISH PROLETARIAT"

We gladly publish Comrade Veteran's[78] article, which gives an outline of the history of the national question among the Letts in general and in the Lettish Social-Democratic Party in particular. Draft amendments or addenda by Lettish Marxists for the decision by the Summer (1913) Conference[79] would be very welcome. Lettish Social-Democrats have long been in sympathy with the Bund; but this sympathy was shaken firstly by the theoretical criticism of the Marxists, and secondly by the Bundists' separatism in practice, particularly after 1906. We hope that the discussion of the national question among Lettish Social-Democrats will continue and that it will lead to the adoption of definite decisions.

As regards Comrade Veteran's remarks, we have only the following comment to make. He thinks our reference to Switzerland* unconvincing because all three nations in that country are historical and have been equal from the very beginning. But "nations without a history" cannot find models or patterns anywhere (apart from utopias) except among historical nations. As for the equality of nations, that is something even advocates of "cultural-national autonomy" take for granted. Consequently, the experience of civilised mankind tells us that *where* genuine equality of nations and consistent democracy exist, "cultural-national autonomy" is superfluous; and where they do *not* exist, it remains utopian, and propaganda in its favour is propaganda in favour of refined nationalism.

Prosveshcheniye No. 2,
February 1914

Published according to
the text in *Prosveshcheniye*

* See pp. 20-21 of this volume.—*Ed.*

PREFACE TO THE SYMPOSIUM: *MARXISM AND LIQUIDATIONISM*[80]

The symposium herewith presented to the reader consists of articles written between 1909 and 1914. This was a period in which the working-class movement in Russia encountered particularly serious difficulties. Marxists, however, were not and could not be content with simply pointing to the difficulties, with simply complaining about the general disintegration, break-down, and so forth. It was necessary to determine the economic and political causes of the break-down from the point of view of the particular stage of Russia's capitalist development, and determine the class significance of the broadest trend that reflected this break-down, namely, the trend of *liquidationism*.

The basic answer to this question, which is extremely important to the working-class movement, was given by the Marxists in December 1908 in the form of very precise, fully formulated and official decisions.[81] These decisions had to be clarified, disseminated and applied to the everyday problems of the economic and political movement. This was done in the articles we have collected in the present symposium, which, for reasons "beyond the editors' control" is unfortunately far from complete.

At present, after a Marxist daily press has been in existence in St. Petersburg for nearly two years, the entire question of the significance and appraisal of liquidationism, not only in theory, but also in practice, has been *submitted*—if one may so express it—to the decision of the workers themselves. This is tremendously fortunate for the working-class movement of Russia, and a great sign of its maturity. The class-conscious workers are themselves seeking the truth and they will find it; they will determine the class signifi-

cance of liquidationism, employ the practical experience of their mass movement to verify its appraisal, and devise expedient methods to combat it.

Our object in publishing the present symposium is to come to the aid of all workers interested in the fate of the movement of their class. The articles are given here, not in their chronological order, but according to *subjects*, in the order (approximately) of their transition from theory to practice.

First come the fundamental questions (Section 1) a solution for which must be found if we are to have anything like intelligent tactics and an intelligent policy. Here the reader will find an appraisal of the present historical situation and of the class significance of the struggle of the Marxist trends. The next question dealt with is that of the hegemony of the proletariat in connection with the criticism of the liquidator's principal "work" (*The Social Movement*): And lastly, come articles on the question of the bourgeoisie's "swing to the left".

Then come (Section 2) articles on the election campaign, on the results of the Fourth Duma elections, and on Duma tactics.

After that comes (Section 3) the question of the "open party", and the question of unity, which is inseparably connected with it.

Section 4 deals with liberal-labour politics in its various applications. After a general appraisal of reformism comes an examination of the questions of "partial demands", freedom of association, the strike movement, the attitude of the liquidators towards the liberals and vice versa.

The last subject (Section 5) is the liquidators and the working-class movement. Here the reader will find an appraisal of the working-class movement in the years 1905-07 given by Koltsov, one of the leaders of liquidationism, in his principal work; an examination of the workers' attitude towards the liquidators in practice; and the most up-to-date material on the history of the formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma.

In the "conclusion" an attempt is made to review the struggle of trends in the present-day working-class movement.

We permit ourselves the hope that our symposium will help the workers to find and study the data on the controversial issues. Naturally, we have been *unable* to include a good deal of important material. On the other hand, in a symposium of articles by different authors written over a series of years repetition is inevitable. There are, of course, individual shades among the authors. But, taken together, all their articles are no more than a commentary, an application of formulated Marxist decisions, whose recognition, among other things, distinguishes the class-conscious organised Marxist workers from the liquidators of the workers' party, and from those who are dropping away from the Party. One of our main objects is to clarify and test these decisions, and to make it easier to formulate such amendments and addenda to them as may become necessary in the course of time.

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POLITICAL DISPUTES AMONG THE LIBERALS

Put Pravdy (No. 18) of last Friday published an article entitled "Mr. Struve on the Need to 'Reform the Government'"* in which we informed our readers of the appraisal of the political situation in Russia given by one of the most outspoken and consistent of the counter-revolutionary liberals.

The next day *Rech* published a tremendously long "doctrinal" article by Mr. Milyukov "against" Mr. Struve in connection with this very article on the need to reform the government. It will be useful to dwell on this dispute between the two liberals, firstly, because vital issues of Russian politics are involved, and secondly, because it reveals the *two political types* of leading bourgeois. And they are types that will have important political significance in Russia for a long time to come, for decades, types that are of similar significance in all capitalist countries. In its own interests, the proletariat must know these types.

During the past few years Mr. Struve has set forth his views most fully and clearly in the book *Vekhi*.[82] These are the views of a counter-revolutionary liberal, an adherent of religion (and of philosophical idealism as the truest and most "scholarly" road to it), and an opponent of democracy. They are the clear, distinctly expressed views, not of an individual, but of a class, for as a matter of fact the *entire mass* of the Octobrist and *Cadet* bourgeoisie in Russia during 1907-14 subscribed to them.

The crux of the matter is that the Octobrist and Cadet bourgeoisie have swung to the right, away from democracy. The crux of the matter is that this bourgeoisie is more afraid

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* See pp. 114-16 of this volume.—*Ed.*

of the people than of reaction. The crux of the matter is that this rightward swing has not been accidental, but has been caused by the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The crux of the matter is that Struve and then Maklakov have told the truth about their class and their party more frankly than other Cadets have.

And this home truth has been very unpalatable to the diplomats of the Cadet Party (headed by Mr. Milyukov), who deem it necessary to flirt with democracy in the belief that the role of this democracy is not quite played out, and that the bourgeoisie may perhaps have to live and act in a milieu created, not only by the Purishkeviches but—God forbid—by the democracy, by the "mob", by the "street", by the workers.

While taking the same line as Mr. Struve and Mr. Maklakov, Mr. Milyukov tries to cover it up, show himself off before the public, fool democracy and keep it in leading strings. That is why Mr. Milyukov *pretends* that he disagrees with *Vekhi*, that he disagrees with Struve, and that he is refuting Maklakov, when *as a matter of fact* he is merely teaching Struve and Maklakov how to conceal their thoughts more cunningly.

The gist of Mr. Milyukov's long article against Struve is his accusation that Struve is "hopelessly muddled".

Hot and strong, is it not?

Where is the muddle? It is in Struve's holding the "optimistic" belief that the government can be reformed, while at the same time saying that it is learning no lessons from the "upheavals" and is making them inevitable. The way out, according to Mr. Struve, is either "unrest", or the reform of government. As for the first way out, Mr. Struve does not want to "effectively work" for it or even "wish" it.

Mr. Struve is indeed muddled, but then *so is Mr. Milyukov*—completely, absolutely muddled, for neither can the Constitutional-Democratic Party—of which Milyukov is the leader—"wish" the first way out or "effectively work" for it.

This is proved, not by words (those who in politics judge men and parties by their words are foolish), but by their *deeds*, i.e., by *the entire history* of the Constitutional-Democratic Party from 1905 to 1914, for almost a decade.

The Constitutional-Democratic Party is more afraid of siding with the workers (on questions of the minimum programme, of course) than of being dependent on the Purishkeviches.

This applies to the entire party, to the entire Cadet and Octobrist bourgeoisie. And Milyukov simply makes himself ridiculous when he tries to lay the blame for this on Struve alone.

In all countries the experience of history shows that a bourgeoisie which desires progress vacillates between siding with the workers and being dependent on the Purishkeviches. In all countries—and the more civilised and free the country, the more marked this is—we see two types of bourgeois politicians. One type openly leans towards religion, towards the Purishkeviches, towards a forthright struggle against democracy, and tries to build up consistent theoretical evidence to support this tendency. The other type specialises in *covering up* this very same tendency by *flirting* with democracy.

There are diplomatic Milyukovs everywhere, and the workers must learn to detect the cloven hoof at once.

Put Pravdy No. 25,
March 1, 1914

Published according to
the text in *Put Pravdy*

THE "LABOURING" PEASANTRY AND THE TRADE IN LAND

The Left-Narodnik talk about the "labouring" peasantry is such a scandalous imposture and corruption of the *socialist* consciousness of the workers that it is necessary to examine it again and again.

The more our Left Narodniks flaunt their platitudes and saccharine speeches, the more important it becomes to counter them with precise data on peasant economy.

There is nothing the Left Narodnik fights shy of so much as *precise* data on the peasant bourgeoisie and the peasant proletariat.

Let us take the returns of the last Zemstvo statistical survey of the peasants in the vicinity of Moscow.[83] Here agriculture has taken on a relatively very pronounced commercial character due to the considerable development of fruit and vegetable farming. And this example of a district that is more developed as regards the domination of the market reveals all the more strikingly the *essential* features of *all* peasant economy under capitalism.

The first district of Moscow suburban peasant economy (we take only this one district because, unfortunately, the statistics do not give us general summaries) covers *over two thousand* peasant farms. The number is sufficiently large to enable us to study the typical relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie among the "labouring" peasantry.

It is noteworthy that capitalist agriculture here is developing on ordinary land with farms of extremely small size, 2,336 peasant farms having a total of 4,253 dessiatines of allotment land, i.e., an average of less than two dessiatines per farm. If we add 1,761 dessiatines of leased land and subtract 625 dessiatines of land rented out, we get a total

of 5,389 dessiatines, i.e., an average of less than two dessiatines per farm. Nevertheless, two-thirds of the peasants employ hired labour!

The higher the level of agricultural techniques, the more intensive the farming, and the stronger the influence of the market, the more often do we meet with *large-scale* production on *small* plots of land. This is constantly overlooked by bourgeois professors and our Left Narodniks, who are so enthusiastic about small farms (reckoned in area of land), and *gloss over* the capitalist nature of modern small farms that employ hired labour.

Let us examine the trade that is going on in allotment land. The figures for leased and rented out land show that this trade is very considerable. About half the leased land is *allotment* land. Altogether, 625 dessiatines of *allotment* land is rented out, and 845 dessiatines are leased. Clearly, the old system of allotment land tenure, which by its very nature is identified with serfdom and medievalism, is becoming an *obstacle* to modern trade and capitalist circulation. Capitalism is *breaking down* the old system of allotment tenure. Farming is not adapting itself to the *official* allotment, but is demanding the *free* sale and purchase of land, free renting and leasing in conformity with the demands of the market, the requirements of the bourgeois economic system.

Take the peasant proletariat. Under this category, first of all, come 405 households (out of the 2,336) which are either landless or have up to half a dessiatine of land. These 405 households own 437 dessiatines of allotment land. But these are poor, largely horseless, peasants, who do not have the wherewithal to engage in farming. They rent out 372 dessiatines—the greater part of their land—and are themselves becoming wage-workers. Of the 405 households, 376 "provide" agricultural labourers, or industrial workers who have given up farming.

Take the richest peasant bourgeoisie. Here 526 households have farms of over three dessiatines. This already is capitalist farming, with fruit and vegetable growing. Of these 526 farmers 509 employ labourers. The working members of the families number 1,706, and they employ 1,248 labourers (by the year or season), exclusive of day-labourers (51,000 working days).

These households own a total of 1,540 dessiatines, an average of less than three dessiatines of allotment land per household. But they rent out only 42 and lease 1,102 dessiatines, of which 512 dessiatines is allotment land! By "concentrating" land in this way, these "labouring" peasants, having an average of *three working members of the family* per farm, are becoming typical bourgeois with an average of two and a half *hired* labourers per farm and nearly a hundred hired day-labourer working days. The buying and selling of the *produce* of land leads to the development of the buying and selling of *land itself* (leasing and renting out), and to the buying and selling of *labour-power*.

Now consider the Left Narodniks' assertion that the abolition of private ownership of the land means "withdrawing the land" from commercial circulation! This is a purely philistine fairy-tale. In fact, the very opposite is the case; this abolition would draw the land into commercial circulation *on a vaster scale* than ever before. The capital now being spent on the purchase of land would be released, the feudal and bureaucratic obstacles to the free transfer of land from one person to another would disappear, and capitalism, i.e., the renting out of land by the proletariat and the "concentration" of land by the bourgeoisie, would develop still more rapidly.

This measure, which is useful as a means of fighting the feudal landlords, the Left Narodniks try to pass off as "socialism", though actually it is only a bourgeois measure. It is undeniable that the peasant proletarians and the peasant bourgeoisie have *common* interests against the landlords. Every Marxist working man knows that, but to *obscure* consciousness of the class antagonisms between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie by jabber about the "labouring" peasantry means deserting to the bourgeoisie, deserting to the enemies of socialism.

Moscow suburban farming shows us, as if under a magnifying glass, what is going on *everywhere* in Russia in a milder and less definable form. Everywhere the peasant who does not hire himself out or does not himself employ hired labour is already becoming the exception. Every day, even in the remoter districts, we find trade developing, and the gulf between the proletarians (hired workers) and the small pro-

prietors, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants, widening more and more.

It is the aim of the urban proletariat to develop a clear realisation of this class antagonism, which, in the rural districts, *is obscured* by the specific features of agriculture and the survivals of serfdom. It is the aim of the bourgeoisie, in whose footsteps the petty-bourgeois Left Narodniks are foolishly following, to *hinder* the realisation of this class antagonism by means of empty, meaningless and utterly false phrases about the "labouring" peasantry.

Put Pravdy No. 26,
March 2, 1914
Signed: *V. I.*

Published according to
the text in *Put Pravdy*

WHAT IS WORRYING THE LIBERALS

In connection with V. Maklakov's Duma speeches and his press statements in favour of the "new" plan for combining the tactics of the Cadets and Octobrists, there has of late been a good deal of talk about the revival of liberalism. The Zemstvo banquet in Moscow has lent colour to these rumours.

It is noteworthy that particular emphasis has been laid on the fact that *even* V. Maklakov, that most moderate of liberals, with a leaning towards Octobrism, has lost "faith in the possibility of a way being found out of the impasse without revolutionary upheavals and cataclysms". This, literally, is what is written in *Rech*, the chief organ of the liberals, by Mr. Shingaryov who, together with Mr. Milyukov, *pretends* to criticise the "Right" Cadets, V. Maklakov and P. Struve, "*from the left*".

But the disputes among the Cadets have been most trifling. They have been arguing whether the proposal made to the Octobrists about joining the opposition is new or not, and whether that proposal, which has been made a hundred times and never led to anything, is worth repeating for the hundred and first time. Behind these absolutely meaningless disputes one can discern the liberals' chief and common cause of *worry*, which hinders the cause of Russia's liberation only slightly less than the Octobrists' vacillations. You gentlemen of the liberal fold, who are arguing all the time with the Octobrists and about the Octobrists, should take a good look at yourselves!

Take the small political encyclopaedia issued by *Rech* and entitled *The Year-Book* for 1914. Among its contributors are the most prominent and most responsible Cadets, the acknowledged leaders of the party, headed by Milyukov and

Shingaryov. In the survey of "Our Public Life" (by Mr. Izgoyev), we read the following appraisal of the fundamental issues in Russian home policies:

"By its excessive zeal the Administration is only weakening the anti-revolutionary forces within the community."

Don't you think it absurd, Messrs. the Cadets, to hurl thunderbolts at the Octobrists, when the most genuine Octobrism is preached in your own publications?

A result of the Administration's "hopeless and misguided" struggle against educational institutions, writes Mr. Izgoyev, is:

"a corruption of life, leading to the weakening of the purely public [!] activity, which produces the spiritual antidotes to ideas that are really a menace to the country".

Now this is a tone worthy, not only of an Octobrist, but even of a prosecutor, a Shcheglovitov.[84] And as if to illustrate what these "ideas that are a menace to the country" are, our liberal says:

"One can understand [from the point of view of the corruption of life by the misguided Administration] why at workers' meetings and in the trade unions the Bolsheviks gain the upper hand over the more level-headed and cultured leaders [!?] of the working-class movement."

This political appraisal of the liquidators is uttered and reiterated by the liberals times without number. As a matter of fact, we have here nothing more nor less than a political alliance between the liberals and the liquidators. In turning their backs on the "underground" and advocating a legal party the liquidators are doing in the ranks of the workers exactly what the liberals want them to do.

Put Pravdy No. 29,
March 6, 1914

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the text in *Put Pravdy*

NARODNIKS AND LIQUIDATORS IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

(A VALUABLE ADMISSION)

In recent issues of the Left-Narodnik newspaper, we find, side by side with complaints about our (the Pravdists') "factionalism", valuable admissions by several Narodniks about their views on important issue of the trade union movement coinciding with those of the liquidators. We have always said it, but it is pleasant indeed to hear this confession from our opponents' lips.

"On this question we differ sharply from the Bolsheviks, who regard the union as their special preserve [!]... The Mensheviks' view [for some reason the Narodniks say "Mensheviks" instead of "liquidators"] of the union as an extra-factional organisation is identical with ours [the Narodniks']. This, perhaps, accounts for our good relations with the Mensheviks in past activities." This was written in *Vernaya Mysl* No. 6.

"The line of conduct taken by the executives of those unions in which the Left Narodniks have been in control all the time in noway differs from the line of conduct of the so-called liquidationist unions," the same Left-Narodnik newspaper added.

An extraordinarily frank and valuable admission! On their own showing, it appears that our "frightfully Left" Narodniks behave in the trade union movement exactly like the liquidators.

Hence, the blocs (alliances, agreements) between the liquidators and the Narodniks against the Marxists, which have been repeatedly mentioned in our press.

The Narodnik *Stoikaya Mysl*[85] even frankly defends these blocs between the Left Narodniks and the liquidators against the Marxists.

"During the present period of Pravdist preponderance in the trade union organisations ... there is nothing terrible or strange in temporary agreements between the Narodniks and the Luchists," writes *Stoikaya Mysl* No. 2.*

The liquidators are not so candid. They know that "such things" are done, but not spoken of. To call oneself a Social-Democrat while at the same time allying with an alien party against the Social-Democrats is "tactics" that can be pursued only underhandedly.

But this does not change anything. The alliance between the liquidators and the Narodniks in the trade union movement (and in the educational societies) is a *fact*. And in the present state of affairs it is inevitable. The liquidators and the Narodniks are united by their common hostility towards consistent Marxism, in all spheres of activity. In trade union activity they are united in both being representatives of the "neutralism of *weakness*", "*willy-nilly* neutralism". Neither the liquidators nor the Narodniks have any real influence in the trade union movement. Although a feeble minority, they demand "equality" with the Marxists. This demand is "theoretically" defensible only from the neutralist point of view. Hence the "neutralism" of all groups with little influence in the working-class movement.

The Narodniks say that they are uniting with the liquidators "*solely for the purpose of protecting the non-factionalism of the workers' organisations against the extravagant claims of the Pravdists*" (*Stoikaya Mysl* Nos. 2 and 4).

What are these "claims" of the Pravdists? Have they shut the door of any union or society to workers who hold political views different from their own? Have they stuck any "label" on any of the unions? Have they split any organisation? They have done nothing of the kind! Our opponents have not quoted a single *fact* of this kind, nor can they do

* Mr. Boris Voronov, the author of the article, his eyes big with surprise, quotes as an example of incredible "factionalism" the fact that at the meetings of the executive of one of the unions "they discussed the question of assisting the Pravdist press, and technical editorial questions (how to improve the correspondence department, etc.)". Oh, horror! What a crime it is to assist a newspaper, which unites nine-tenths of the advanced workers, with correspondence and the like! How, after this, can the Narodniks help throwing themselves into the arms of the liquidators?...

so. By the "extravagant claims" of the Pravdists they mean that the Pravdists do not want to associate themselves with the petty-bourgeois policy of the Narodniks and liquidators, and, while loyally submitting to the majority of the workers *within a single union*, they fight for influence for their Marxist ideas.

We have never been guilty of the sins ascribed to us. It is the Narodniks and the liquidators who are guilty of them. Here are the facts. Several years ago the Narodniks obtained a majority in the Railwaymen's Union. This happened because they had the backing, not of the workers, but of the railway clerks, and because of other fortuitous circumstances. What did the Narodniks do? They immediately "stuck a label" on that union, compelled it to adopt its own special "platform", ousted the Social-Democrats and non-Party workers, and compelled them to form a parallel union of their own.

Now that was a really "extravagant claim". They hastened to make good their first chance victory by affixing a label. The fact that the Narodniks do not do this in other unions is not because they are so virtuous, but because their influence everywhere among the workers is *very slight*.

The same thing applies to the liquidators. When they controlled the Metalworkers' Union they turned it into a branch of the liquidators' organisation. The organ of the union published provocative articles against the "underground" (see *Nash Put* No. 20, p. 2, *Metallist* No. 3, etc.[86]), although no general meeting of the members ever expressed approval of the liquidator line.

Such are the actual facts. By the "extravagant claims" of the Pravdists they mean that the Pravdists try to get the workers to settle their affairs themselves by a majority vote. If at a general meeting of metalworkers 3,000 vote for the Pravdists and a hundred or two vote for the liquidators and the Narodniks combined, then, in the name of so-called "non-factionalism" we are supposed to admit that 3,000 is equal to 200! This is what liquidator-Narodnik "non-factionalism" means.

We do not defend neutralism; we are opposed to it. But we do not behave like the Narodniks and liquidators when they obtain a chance majority in some union. Only feeble

groups with no principles lose their heads at the first "victory" and hasten to "consolidate" their victory by a majority of a score or so of votes. Excited and in a hurry not to miss such a golden opportunity, they hastily revise their "principles", forget their neutralism, and stick on a label. Marxists do not behave like that. They are not stray visitors in the working-class movement. They know that sooner or later all the unions will take their stand on the basis of Marxism. They are convinced that the future belongs to their ideas and, therefore, they do not force events, do not goad the unions on, and do not stick labels on them or split them.

Steadily and confidently they carry on their Marxist propaganda. They patiently teach Marxism to the workers, drawing on the lessons of life, and no deals between unprincipled groups will divert them from that path.

There was a time when the present-day liquidators demanded that the trade unions should be Party unions and have official representation in the Party. There was a time when the Narodniks compelled the Railwaymen's Union to officially swear allegiance to their programme. Today both have swung to the opposite extreme, and stand for neutralism. They have been compelled to do this by the political weakness of their positions.

We are following our old road, proclaimed long ago and upheld by the entire body of Marxists. The liquidators have a full right to enter into an alliance with the Narodniks. But it is an alliance based on abandonment of principles and on weakness. The road which the liquidator-Narodnik bloc proposes to the unions is not the road of the advanced workers.

Put Pravdy No. 30,
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PIOUS WISHES

The liberal newspapers recently published or favourably reported K. Arsenyev's appeal for greater attention to be paid to the collection of information on summary exile.

"Although numerous cases of arbitrary and lawless acts on the part of the Administration are reported in the newspapers," wrote K. Arsenyev, "others, no less numerous and outrageous, pass unnoticed and unobserved. This omission could be rectified to a considerable extent if some sort of system were introduced in the collection of information on the subject. The reasons for summary exile and arrest, which are being widely practised to this day, especially among the workers, become known only by chance and, therefore, in a fragmentary way. Similarly, news about the condition of the exiles in their places of exile finds its way into the press only by accident."

What is true is true! The liberal parties, the liberal members of the Duma, the liberal lawyers, the liberal journalists, various groups of liberals, and so forth, could very easily collect and publish legally and illegally, very full and systematic material on *every* one of those cases which "are being widely practised, especially among the workers".

Rech, for example, "heartily welcomed the advice and the appeals coming from that highly respected public figure" K. Arsenyev.

Then why don't you go ahead, gentlemen? Surely you, of all people, have every opportunity and means of organising the proper collection and publication of information about this "everyday feature" of Russian life, which you all protest against and condemn, and about which you are always talking! But see, not a single liberal newspaper, which is a thousand times better "provided for" (in all respects) against all kinds of obstacles and barriers, collects precise information about *all* cases of exile and arrest.

We are obliged to say that our liberals are past masters in the art of expressing good and pious wishes, but when it comes to publishing the names of all those who have been exiled or to publishing information about them and systematic reports of how they are faring, in Arsenyev's own *Vestnik Yevropy*, or in *Russkiye Vedomosti*,[87] or in *Rech*, then nothing is done.

Evidently, it is much easier (and safer) to "support" appeals in word than *to do* something *in response* to those appeals....

Put Pravdy No. 32,
March 9, 1914

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A LIBERAL PROFESSOR ON EQUALITY

Liberal Professor Mr. Tugan-Baranovsky is on the war-path against socialism. This time he has approached the question, not from the political and economic angle, but from that of an abstract discussion on equality (perhaps the professor thought such an abstract discussion more suitable for the religious and philosophical gatherings which he has addressed?).

"If we take socialism, not as an economic theory, but as a living ideal," Mr. Tugan declared, "then, undoubtedly, it is associated with the ideal of equality, but equality is a concept ... that cannot be deduced from experience and reason."

This is the reasoning of a liberal scholar who repeats the incredibly trite and threadbare argument that experience and reason clearly prove that men are *not* equal, yet socialism bases its ideal on equality. Hence, socialism, if you please, is an absurdity which is contrary to experience and reason, and so forth!

Mr. Tugan repeats the old trick of the reactionaries: first to misinterpret socialism by making it out to be an absurdity, and then to triumphantly refute the absurdity! When we say that experience and reason prove that men are *not* equal, we mean by equality, equality in *abilities* or *similarity* in physical strength and mental ability.

It goes without saying that in this respect men are *not* equal. No sensible person and no socialist forgets this. But *this kind* of equality has *nothing whatever* to do with socialism. If Mr. Tugan is quite unable to *think*, he is at least *able* to read; were he to take the well-known work of one of the

founders of scientific socialism, Frederick Engels, directed against Dühring, he would find there a special section explaining the absurdity of imagining that economic equality means anything else than the *abolition of classes*. But when professors set out to refute socialism, one never knows what to wonder at most—their stupidity, their ignorance, or their unscrupulousness.

Since we have Mr. Tugan to deal with, we shall have to start with the rudiments.

By political equality Social-Democrats mean *equal rights*, and by economic equality, as we have already said, they mean the *abolition of classes*. As for establishing human equality in the sense of equality of strength and abilities (physical and mental), socialists do not even think of such things.

Political equality is a demand for equal political rights for *all* citizens of a country who have reached a certain age and who do not suffer from either ordinary or liberal-professorial feeble-mindedness. This demand was first advanced, not by the socialists, not by the proletariat, but by the *bourgeoisie*. The well-known historical experience of all countries of the world proves this, and Mr. Tugan could easily have discovered this had he not called "experience" to witness solely in order to dupe students and workers, and please the powers that be by "abolishing" socialism.

The bourgeoisie put forward the demand for *equal* rights for all citizens in the struggle against medieval, feudal, serf-owner and caste privileges. In Russia, for example, unlike America, Switzerland and other countries, the privileges of the nobility are preserved to this day in all spheres of political life, in elections to the Council of State, in elections to the Duma, in municipal administration, in taxation, and many other things.

Even the most dull-witted and ignorant person can grasp the fact that individual members of the nobility are *not* equal in physical and mental abilities any more than are people belonging to the "tax-paying", "base", "low-born" or "non-privileged" peasant class. But in *rights*, all nobles are *equal*, just as all the peasants are equal in their lack of rights.

Does our learned liberal Professor Tugan now understand the difference between equality in the sense of equal rights, and equality in the sense of equal strength and abilities?

We shall now deal with economic equality, In the United States of America, as in other advanced countries, there are no medieval privileges. All citizens are equal in political rights. But are they equal as regards their *position in social production*?

No, Mr. Tugan, they are not. Some own land, factories and capital and live on the unpaid labour of the workers; these form an insignificant minority. Others, namely, the vast mass of the population, own no means of production and live only by selling their labour-power; these are proletarians.

In the United States of America there is no aristocracy, and the bourgeoisie and the proletariat enjoy *equal* political rights. But they are *not* equal in *class* status: one class, the capitalists, own the means of production and live on the unpaid labour of the workers. The other class, the wage-workers, the proletariat, own no means of production and live by selling their labour-power in the market.

The abolition of classes means placing *all* citizens on an *equal* footing with regard to the *means of production* belonging to society as a whole. It means giving all citizens *equal* opportunities of working on the publicly-owned means of production, on the publicly-owned land, at the publicly-owned factories, and so forth.

This explanation of socialism has been necessary to enlighten our learned liberal professor, Mr. Tugan, who may, if he tries hard, now grasp the fact that it is absurd to expect *equality* of strength and abilities in socialist society.

In brief, when socialists speak of equality they always mean *social* equality, equality of social status, and not by any means the physical and mental equality of individuals.

The puzzled reader may ask: how could a learned liberal professor have forgotten these elementary axioms familiar to anybody who has read any exposition of the views of socialism? The answer is simple: the *personal* qualities of

present-day professors are such that we may find among them even exceptionally stupid people like Tugan. But the *social* status of professors in bourgeois society is such that only those are allowed to hold such posts who sell science to serve the interests of capital, and agree to utter the most fatuous nonsense, the most unscrupulous drivel and twaddle against the socialists. The bourgeoisie will forgive the professors all this as long as they go on "abolishing" socialism.

Put Pravdy No. 33,
March 11, 1914

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THE BRITISH LIBERALS AND IRELAND

What is taking place today in the British Parliament in connection with the Bill on Irish *Home Rule* is of exceptional interest as far as class relationships and elucidation of the national and the agrarian problems are concerned.

For centuries England has enslaved Ireland, condemned the Irish peasants to unparalleled misery and gradual extinction from starvation, driven them off the land and compelled hundreds of thousands and even millions of them to leave their native country and emigrate to America. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ireland had a population of five and a half millions; today the population is only four and one-third millions. Ireland has become depopulated. Over five million Irish emigrated to America in the course of the nineteenth century, so that there are now *more* Irish in the United States than there are in Ireland!

The appalling destitution and sufferings of the Irish peasantry are an instructive example of the lengths to which the landowners and the liberal bourgeoisie of a "dominant" nation will go. Britain owes her "brilliant" economic development and the "prosperity" of her industry and commerce largely to her treatment of the Irish peasantry, which recalls the misdeeds of the Russian serf-owner Saltychikha.[88]

While Britain "flourished", Ireland moved towards extinction and remained an undeveloped, semi-barbarous, purely agrarian country, a land of poverty-stricken tenant farmers. But much as the "enlightened and liberal" British bourgeoisie desired to perpetuate Ireland's enslavement and poverty, reform inevitably approached, the more so that the revolutionary eruptions of the Irish people's fight for liberty and land became more and more ominous. The year 1861 saw

the formation of the Irish revolutionary organisation of *Fenians*. Irish settlers in America gave it every assistance.

With the formation, in 1868, of the government of Gladstone—that hero of the liberal bourgeoisie and obtuse philistines—the *era of reform* in Ireland set in, an era which has dragged on very nicely till the present day, i.e., just under half a century. Oh, the wise statesmen of the liberal bourgeoisie are very well able to "make haste slowly" in the matter of reform!

Karl Marx, who had been living in London for over fifteen years, followed the struggle of the Irish with great interest and sympathy. He wrote to Frederick Engels on November 2, 1867: "I have done my best to bring about this demonstration of the English workers in favour of Fenianism.... I used to think the separation of Ireland from England impossible. I now think it inevitable, although after the separation there may come federation...." Reverting to the same subject in a letter dated November 30th of the same year, Marx wrote: "The question now is, what shall we advise the English workers? In my opinion they must make the repeal of the Union [the abolition of the union with Ireland] (in short, the affair of 1783, only democratised and adapted to the conditions of the time) an article of their *pronunziamento*. This is the only legal and therefore only possible form of Irish emancipation which can be admitted in the programme of an *English* [workers'] party."[89] And Marx went on to show that what the Irish needed was Home Rule and independence of Britain, an agrarian revolution and tariffs against Britain.

Such was the programme proposed to the British workers by Marx, in the interests of Irish freedom, of accelerating the social development and freedom of the British workers; because the British workers could not become free so long as they helped to keep another nation in slavery (or even allowed it)

Alas! Owing to a number of special historical causes, the British workers of the last third of the nineteenth century proved dependent upon the Liberals, impregnated with the spirit of liberal-labour policy. They proved to be, not at the head of nations and classes fighting for liberty, but in

the wake of the contemptible lackeys of the money-bags, the British Liberals.

And the Liberals have for *half a century* been dragging out Ireland's liberation, which has not been completed to this day! It was not until the twentieth century that the Irish peasant began to turn from a tenant farmer into a freeholder, but the Liberals have imposed upon him a system of *land purchase at a "fair" price*! He has paid, and will continue to pay for many years, millions upon millions to the British landlords as a reward for their having robbed him for centuries and reduced him to a state of chronic starvation. The British liberal bourgeois has made the Irish peasant thank the landlord for this in hard cash....

A *Home Rule* Bill for Ireland is now going through Parliament. But in Ireland there is the Northern province of Ulster, which is inhabited partly by English-born Protestants as distinct from the Catholic Irish. Well then, the British Conservatives, led by Carson, the British version of our Black-Hundred landlord Purishkevich, have raised a frightful outcry against Irish Home Rule. This, they say, means subjecting Ulstermen to an alien people of alien creed! Lord Carson has threatened rebellion, and has organised gangs of reactionary armed thugs for this purpose.

An empty threat, of course. There can be no question of a rebellion by a handful of hoodlums. Nor could there be any question of an Irish Parliament (whose powers are determined by *British* law) "oppressing" the Protestants.

It is simply a question of the reactionary landlords trying to *scare* the Liberals.

And the Liberals are losing their nerve, bowing to the reactionaries, making concessions to them, offering to conduct a *referendum* in Ulster and put off reform for Ulster for six years!

The haggling between the Liberals and the reactionaries continues. Reform can wait: the Irish have waited half a century; they can wait a little longer; you can't very well "offend" the landlords!

Of course, if the Liberals appealed to the people of Britain, to the proletariat, Carson's reactionary gangs would melt away immediately and disappear. The peaceful and full achievement of freedom by Ireland would be guaranteed,

But is it conceivable that the liberal bourgeois will turn to the proletariat for aid against the landlords? Why, the Liberals in Britain are also lackeys of the money-bags, capable only of cringing to the Carsons.

Put Pravdy No. 34,
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THE TAYLOR SYSTEM—MAN'S ENSLAVEMENT BY THE MACHINE

Capitalism cannot be at a standstill for a single moment. It must forever be moving forward. Competition, which is keenest in a period of crisis like the present, calls for the invention of an increasing number of new devices to reduce the cost of production. But the domination of capital converts all these devices into instruments for the further exploitation of the workers.

The Taylor system is one of these devices.

Advocates of this system recently used the following techniques in America.

An electric lamp was attached to a worker's arm, the worker's movements were photographed and the movements of the lamp studied. Certain movements were found to be "superfluous" and the worker was made to avoid them, i.e., to work more intensively, without losing a second for rest.

The layout of new factory buildings is planned in such a way that not a moment will be lost in delivering materials to the factory, in conveying them from one shop to another, and in dispatching the finished products. The cinema is systematically employed for studying the work of the best operatives and increasing its intensity, i.e., "speeding up" the workers.

For example, a mechanic's operations were filmed in the course of a whole day. After studying the mechanic's movements the efficiency experts provided him with a bench high enough to enable him to avoid losing time in bending down. He was given a boy to assist him. This boy had to hand up each part of the machine in a definite and most efficient way. Within a few days the mechanic performed the work of

assembling the given type of machine in *one-fourth* of the time it had taken before!

What an enormous gain in labour productivity!... But the worker's pay is not increased fourfold, but only half as much again, at the very most, and *only for a short period* at that. As soon as the workers get used to the new system their pay is cut to the former level. The capitalist obtains an enormous profit, but the workers toil four times as hard as before and wear down their nerves and muscles four times as fast as before.

A newly engaged worker is taken to the factory cinema where he is shown a "model" performance of his job; the worker is made to "catch up" with that performance. A week later he is taken to the cinema again and shown pictures of his own performance, which is then compared with the "model".

All these vast improvements are introduced *to the detriment* of the workers, for they lead to their still greater oppression and exploitation. Moreover, this rational and efficient distribution of labour is confined *to each factory*.

The question naturally arises: What about the distribution of labour in society as a whole? What a vast amount of labour is wasted at present owing to the disorganised and chaotic character of capitalist production as a whole! How much time is wasted as the raw materials pass to the factory through the hands of hundreds of buyers and middlemen, while the requirements of the market are unknown! Not only time, but the actual products are wasted and damaged. And what about the waste of time and labour in delivering the finished goods to the consumers through a host of small middlemen who, too, cannot know the requirements of their customers and perform not only a host of superfluous movements, but also make a host of superfluous purchases, journeys, and so on and so forth!

Capital organises and rationalises labour within the factory for the purpose of increasing the exploitation of the workers and increasing profit. In social production as a whole, however, chaos continues to reign and grow, leading to crises when the accumulated wealth cannot find purchasers, and millions of workers starve because they are unable to find employment.

The Taylor system—without its initiators knowing or wishing it—is preparing the time when the proletariat will take over all social production and appoint its own workers' committees for the purpose of properly distributing and rationalising all social labour. Large-scale production, machinery, railways, telephone—all provide thousands of opportunities to cut by three-fourths the working time of the organised workers and make them four times better off than they are today.

And these workers' committees, assisted by the workers' unions, will be able to apply these principles of rational distribution of social labour when the latter is freed from its enslavement by capital.

Put Pravdy No. 35,
March 13, 1914
Signed: *M. M.*

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A "RESPONSIBLE OPPOSITION" AND THE PARTICIPATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL-DEMOCRATS IN THE MARCH 1 CONFERENCE

The newspapers have already had a good deal to say about the conference held on March 1 between government spokesmen and certain members of the Duma; however, the importance of this conference as far as the position and aims of the "opposition" in the Duma is concerned, has not by any means been sufficiently highlighted.

We would remind our readers that just before March 1 a number of liberal newspapers in St. Petersburg, Moscow and the provinces, raised and animatedly discussed the general question of a Duma in the doldrums, the Duma's impotence and lifelessness, of members fleeing from the Duma, the aims of the opposition, and so forth.

Just before March 1, Milyukov and Shingaryov, the most outstanding leaders of the "Constitutional-Democratic" Party, came out in the St. Petersburg and Moscow press against Mr. Struve for his appeals for "reform of the government", as well as against the Right-wing Cadet V. Maklakov for his "pessimistic-optimistic" appeals for an agreement with the Octobrists. Just before March 1, Mr. Milyukov did his utmost to pose as an opponent of Vekhism, i.e., of consistent and avowed counter-revolutionary liberalism.*

The composition and the character of the March I Conference proved once again that all the flimsy reservations made by the Constitutional-Democratic Party leaders against P. Struve and V. Maklakov, all their efforts to pose as being "more Left" than the aforesaid politicians, are sheer hypocrisy

* See pp. 129-31 of this volume.—*Ed.*

and an attempt to hoodwink democrats. *In actual fact* it was the policy of the Vekhists among the liberals that triumphed at this conference, the policy of Struve and V. Maklakov, not of Messrs. Milyukov, Shingaryov and Co., the Constitutional-Democratic Party's official leaders and diplomats.

The conference was attended only by representatives of the government parties and of the liberal-bourgeois opposition; neither the Social-Democrats nor the Trudoviks (bourgeois democrats) were invited (on the pretext that they are "anti-militarists on principle, and always vote against all war credits". The real reason, however, is that the sponsors did not want to receive a reasoned and public refusal, which would certainly have been forthcoming, at least from the Social-Democrats).

When the opposition members—according to a most official report in *Rech*—"*attempted to raise the question of our domestic policies*" they were told that the only question that could be discussed was that of war credits, and that "government spokesmen do not deem it possible at this conference to make any statements on questions concerning domestic policies".

"*Nevertheless*," wrote *Rech*, "several deputies, among them I. N. Yefremov, A. I. Shingaryov and others, *did*, in their speeches, *touch upon* questions concerning the internal situation."

So much the more irrelevant, ridiculous, absurd and undignified, it must be said concerning this statement, was the role played by the Cadet, Constitutional-Democratic, deputies. Were their party called the Moderate Liberal-Monarchist Party, i.e., a name truly expressing its class nature and its real political character, the conduct of the Constitutional-Democratic deputies would have been quite normal from the party point of view. But for people who wish to be considered democrats, for people among whom even such Right-wingers as V. Maklakov publicly declare that they *have lost faith* "in the possibility of a way being found out of the impasse without revolutionary upheavals and cataclysms" (this is exactly how Mr. Shingaryov *himself* expounded V. Maklakov's views in *Rech* No. 55, for February 26; and Mr. Milyukov *himself* wrote in the same vein in the issue of

that paper for February 25)—for such people, participation in a conference with the Rights and Octobrists was a public slap in the face.

The Constitutional-Democrats slapped their own faces. By participating in the conference they publicly repudiated their own statements about their "loss of faith". They publicly demonstrated their readiness to prove that *their faith was alive*, and this is tantamount to readiness to serve and be subservient.

Trust the Cadets to understand perfectly both the inseverable connection that exists between home and foreign policies and the significance of "allocating credits"....

Put Pravdy No. 36,
March 14, 1914
Signed: *M. M.*

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the text in *Put Pravdy*

THE BREAK-UP OF THE "AUGUST" BLOC

All who are interested in the working-class movement and Marxism in Russia know that a bloc of the liquidators, Trotsky, the Letts, the Bundists and the Caucasians was formed in August 1912.

The formation of this bloc was announced with tremendous ballyhoo in the newspaper *Luch*, which was founded in St. Petersburg—not with workers' money—just when the elections were being held, in order to sabotage the will of the majority of the organised workers. It went into raptures over the bloc's "large membership", over the alliance of "Marxists of different trends", over "unity" and non-factionalism, and it raged against the "splitters", the supporters of the January 1912 Conference.[90]

The question of "unity" was thus presented to thinking workers in a new and practical light. The facts were to show who was right: those who praised the "unity" platform and tactics of the August bloc members, or those who said that this was a false signboard, a new disguise for the old, bankrupt liquidators.

Exactly *eighteen months* passed. A tremendous period considering the upsurge of 1912-13. And then, in February 1914, a new journal—this time eminently "unifying" and eminently and truly "non-factional"—bearing the title *Borba*, was founded by Trotsky, that "*genuine*" adherent of the August platform.

Both the contents of *Borba*'s issue No. 1 and what the liquidators wrote about that journal before it appeared, at once revealed to the attentive observer that the August bloc *had broken up* and that frantic efforts were being made to conceal this and hoodwink the workers. But this fraud will also be exposed very soon.

Before the appearance of *Borba*, the editors of *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*[91] published a scathing comment stating: "The real physiognomy of this journal, which has of late been spoken of quite a lot in Marxist circles, is still unclear to us."

Think of that, reader: since August 1912 Trotsky has been considered a leader of the August unity bloc; but the whole of 1913 shows him to have been dissociated from *Luch* and the Luchists. In 1914, this selfsame Trotsky establishes *his own* journal, while continuing fictitiously on the staff of *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* and *Nasha Zarya*. "*There is a good deal of talk in circles*" about a secret "memorandum"—which the liquidators are keeping dark—written by Trotsky against the Luchists, Messrs. F. D., L. M., and similar "strangers".

And yet the truthful, non-factional and unifying Editorial Board of *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* writes: "Its physiognomy is still unclear to us!"

It is not yet clear to them that the August bloc has fallen apart!

No, Messrs. F. D., L. M. and other Luchists, it is perfectly "clear" to you, and you are simply deceiving the workers.

The August bloc—as we said at the time, in August 1912—turned out to be a mere screen for the liquidators. *That bloc has fallen asunder. Even* its friends in Russia have not been able to stick together. The famous uniters even failed to unite themselves and we got *two* "August" trends, the Luchist trend (*Nasha Zarya* and *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*) and the Trotskyist trend (*Borba*). Both are waving scraps of the "general and united" August banner which they have torn up, and both are shouting themselves hoarse with cries of "unity"!

What is *Borba*'s trend? Trotsky wrote a verbose article in *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 11, explaining this, but the editors of that liquidator newspaper very pointedly replied that its "physiognomy is still unclear".

The liquidators do have their *own* physiognomy, a liberal, not a Marxist one. Anyone familiar with the writings of F. D., L. S., L. M., Yezhov,[92] Potresov and Co. is familiar with this physiognomy.

Trotsky, however, has never had any "physiognomy" at all; the only thing he does have is a habit of changing sides, of skipping from the liberals to the Marxists and back again, of mouthing scraps of catchwords and bombastic parrot phrases.

In *Borba* you will not find *a single* live word on any controversial issue.

This is incredible, but it is a fact.

The question of the "underground"? *Not a word.*

Does Trotsky share the views of Axelrod, Zasulich, F. D., L. S. (*Luch* No. 101) and so forth? *Not a murmur.*

The slogan of fighting for an open party? *Not a single word.*

The liberal utterances of the Yezhovs and other Luchists on strikes? The annulment of the programme on the national question? *Not a murmur.*

The utterances of L. Sedov and other Luchists *against two* of the "pillars"[93]? *Not a murmur.* Trotsky assures us that he is in favour of combining immediate demands with ultimate aims, but there is not a word as to his attitude towards the *liquidator* method of effecting this "combination"!

Actually, under cover of high-sounding, empty, and obscure phrases that confuse the non-class-conscious workers, Trotsky is defending the liquidators by passing over in silence the question of the "underground", by asserting that there is no liberal-labour policy in Russia, and the like.

Trotsky delivers a long lecture to the seven Duma deputies, headed by Chkheidze, instructing them how to repudiate the "underground" and the Party in a *more subtle manner.* This amusing lecture clearly points to the *further break-up* of the Seven. Buryanov has left them. They were unable to see eye to eye in their reply to Plekhanov. They are now oscillating between Dan and Trotsky, while Chkheidze is evidently exercising his diplomatic talents in an effort to paper over the new cracks.

And these near-Party people, who are unable to unite on their *own* "August" platform, try to deceive the workers with their shouts about "unity"! Vain efforts!

Unity means recognising the "old" and combating those who repudiate it. Unity means rallying the majority of the workers in Russia about decisions which have long been

known, and which condemn liquidationism. Unity means that members of the Duma must work in harmony with the will of the majority of the workers, which the six workers' deputies are doing.

But the liquidators and Trotsky, the Seven and Trotsky, who tore up their own August bloc, who flouted all the decisions of the Party and dissociated themselves from the "underground" as well as from the organised workers, are the worst splitters. Fortunately, the workers have already realised this, and all class-conscious workers are creating their own *real* unity *against* the liquidator disruptors of unity.

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CAPITALISM AND THE PRESS

When thieves fall out, honest men come by their own, to some extent. When bourgeois newspapermen quarrel they reveal to the public the venality of the "big dailies" and the tricks they are up to.

N. Snessarev of the *Novoye Vremya* quarrelled with that newspaper, misappropriated some of its funds, and was dismissed after a scandal. He has now published a "book" of 135 pages entitled *The Mirage of* "*Novoye Vremya*". *As Good as a Novel*. St. Petersburg, 1914. Posing, as is the custom, as a "perfect gentleman", Mr. Snessarev describes the ethics which have long established themselves in the capitalist countries of the West, and which are penetrating more and more into the bourgeois press in Russia, where of course the soil is exceptionally favourable for the most sordid and disgusting forms of bribery, toadyism, etc., which are practised with impunity.

"Everybody has gradually become accustomed to live beyond his means," this *Novoye Vremya* man writes with a charming air of "injured innocence". "When and how society will rid itself of this phenomenon, or whether it will rid itself of it at all, nobody can tell. But that such is the situation at the present time is a recognised fact." And one of the magic means by which one can live above one's income is to get bourgeois newspapers to "*participate*" in promoting concessions. "I could mention scores of different concessions," relates our *Novoye Vremya*-ist, "which owe their existence, not only to certain connections, but also to certain articles published in certain newspapers. *Novoye Vremya* is of course no exception." For example, one day, a representative of the London Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company called on Mr. Snessarev and invited him to draft the Articles of Associa-

tion of a Russian Marconi Co. and a plan for a concession for that Company. "The remuneration for this work was fixed at 10,000 rubles, and an agreement was reached."

The "victimised" Snessarev relates that, not only did he sell himself to the capitalists for this sum, but that the whole newspaper *Novoye Vremya* sold itself to conduct "a campaign in favour of the concession", for which it received a 50 per cent rebate on telegrams, a "cushy job" as a founder of the Company, and a grant of 50,000 rubles' worth of shares.

London capitalists—fleecing the Russians—concessions from the Russian Government—press participation—wholesale corruption—anybody and everybody bought and sold for thousands of rubles—such is the truthful picture revealed by the disgruntled crook Snessarev.

Novoye Vremya, an enterprise with millions invested in it, was collapsing. The pampered sons of the renegade millionaire A. S. Suvorin were squandering and dissipating millions. This noble newspaper had to be saved. "P. L. Bark, Managing Director of the Volga-Kama Bank, appeared on the scene" (p. 85). He persuaded A. S. Suvorin to transfer the business to a company, whose Articles of Association had received *His Majesty*'s approval in August 1911. Of the eight hundred shares (at 5,000 rubles per share), 650 went to A. S. Suvorin. In forming the Company they drew up a fictitious balance-sheet, Mr. Snessarev explains (p. 97), adding that "such a balance-sheet could have been accepted either by people totally ignorant of figures, or by people like Mr. Guchkov, that is to say, people who know their business perfectly, but pursue aims of their own". The heroes of this Company's inauguration (the inaugural meeting was held on November 10, 1911) were *Snessarev himself*, P. L. Bark, V. P. Burenin, Octobrist member of the Duma Shubinsky, the sons of that noble renegade A. S. Suvorin, and others.

As the reader sees, this highly respectable Company has been operating with great zeal since November 1911, but *since 1912*, the "victimised" Snessarev informs us, *Novoye Vremya* has been receiving a subsidy in the shape of the advertisements of the Land Banks ("not a very great income"- a mere 15,000 rubles per annum, or "something round about that" figure!). According to the law, these advertisements

had to be given to the newspaper with the largest circulation. At that time *Novoye Vremya* did *not* have the largest circulation, but it "set in motion" ("for the first time", the noble Snessarev avows) its backstairs influence and connections in government circles in order to retain these Land Bank advertisements. "The matter was discussed by the Council of Ministers and after rather serious hesitation it was decided to allow *Novoye Vremya* to retain the advertisements" (p. 21).

A literary and art society's club, "in plain words, a gambling-house" (p. 69) was formed; "in the club's debt book the members of the staff of *Novoye Vremya* had thousands of rubles against their accounts. These debts were simply written off".

In co-operation with Menshikov and others, the stockbroker Manus, who grew rich on the stock exchange and piled up a fortune of "several millions" (p. 120), launched a campaign in *Novoye Vremya* demanding Kokovtsov's resignation from the Cabinet. We leave it to our readers to figure out how many thousands each of these "public servants" received, and how much they have yet coming to them.

A whirligig of millions began: *Novoye Vremya* with a balance of five millions, of which about three millions are fictitious; salaries and fees of two and three thousand rubles *per month* to second-rate and third-rate members of the staff; hundreds of thousands and millions wasted; loans from banks amounting to hundreds of thousands; universal corruption; prostitution in all its forms, illegal and legal, sanctified by marriage; the cream of high St. Petersburg society; millionaires, Cabinet Ministers, stockbrokers and distinguished foreigners; gambling-houses; blackmail in different forms; "no political convictions" (p. 36); envy and intrigues; Amfiteatrov and Snessarev challenging an engineer to a duel for insulting the editors of *Novoye Vremya*, who had slung mud at the students; A. S. Suvorin, "who was very fond" of Amfiteatrov, but "could not deny himself the pleasure of annoying him", by letting through an article by Burenin confining a "nasty" dig at the actress Raiskaya, Amfiteatrov's wife; Burenin kicks Amfiteatrov out; Suvorin's scapegrace sons run up debts amounting to hundreds of thousands of rubles.

Novoye Vremya's loss in 1905—150,000 rubles.

Scared by 1905, Moscow merchants and manufacturers gave 100,000 rubles to found a patriotic newspaper for workers. At their request *Novoye Vremya* undertook to arrange the matter.

The newspaper "dragged out a miserable existence" for two years and then closed down. Muscovites lost 100,000 rubles, and the *Novoye Vremya* people 150,000 rubles (p. 61).

Thieves, male prostitutes, venal writers, venal newspapers. Such is our "big press". Such is the flower of our "high" society. "Everybody" knows these people; they have connections "everywhere".... The brazen insolence of feudalists embracing in the dark with the brazen corruption of the bourgeoisie—such is "Holy Russia".

Put Pravdy No. 41,
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A RADICAL BOURGEOIS ON THE RUSSIAN WORKERS

It is sometimes useful to see how people judge us, our workers' press, our workers' unions, our working-class movement, *from outside*. It is instructive to know the views of our enemies, both overt and covert, the views of indefinite people and indefinite "sympathisers", if they are at all intelligent and have some idea of politics.

Under the latter category undoubtedly comes the "Trudovik" or "Popular Socialist"—or, if the truth were to be told, just the ordinary radical bourgeois or bourgeois democrat—Mr. S. Yelpatievsky.

This writer is a staunch supporter and associate of N. K. Mikhailovsky, now the object of fulsome praise from the "Left Narodniks", who, in defiance of common sense, are trying to pass themselves off as socialists. Mr. S. Yelpatievsky is a close observer of the life of the Russian man in the street, to whose moods he is so "sensitive".

He may well be called one of Russia's leading liquidators, seeing that he and his friends, as far back as in the autumn of 1906 (see the ill-famed August issue of *Russkoye Bogatstvo* for 1906), proclaimed the need for an "open party", attacked the narrow-mindedness of the "underground", and started to touch up the most important slogans of this "underground" in the spirit of an open, that is to say, legal, party. In word, and in the minds of these "Social-Cadets" (as *even* the Left Narodniks *were obliged* to call them at the time), their repudiation of the "underground" and their liquidationist proclamation of an "open party" or "struggle for an open party", were prompted by the desire "to go among the masses", to organise the masses.

In deed, however, the plan of the "Popular Socialists" contained nothing but philistine, petty-bourgeois faint-heart-

edness (in regard to the masses) and credulity (in regard to the authorities). For their advocacy of an "open party" some of them were threatened with the lock-up and some were kept there, and as a result, they remained without any contact with the masses, open or otherwise, and without a party of any kind, open or otherwise. They remained what our liquidators now are, namely, a group of liquidator legalists, a group of "independent" writers (independent of the "underground", but ideologically dependent on liberalism).

The period of despondency, collapse and disintegration has passed. New currents are stirring, and Mr. S. Yelpatievsky, who is so sensitive to man-in-the-street moods, has written an article, published in this year's January issue of *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, on the moods of the different classes in Russian society. The article bears the pretentious title "Life Goes On".

Life goes on, our Narodnik exclaims, calling to mind all kinds of congresses, Salazkin's speech[94] and the Beilis case. Things are undoubtedly stirring in the provinces, although "it is sometimes difficult now to distinguish, not only the Right Cadet from the Left Octobrist, but the Socialist-Revolutionary and the Social-Democrat [you mean liquidator Social-Democrat, don't you, Mr. Narodnik liquidator?] from the Left Cadet, judging by local [and, of course, exclusively legal] tactics". "Something like a unification of Rus is taking place on either side of the wall dividing Russia. On one side have rallied the united aristocracy, the united bureaucracy, the civil servants and other folk who 'live on the Treasury'; on the other side—just the rank and file, the mass of provincial society".

Our Narodnik's outlook, as you see, is not broad, and his analysis is shallow—the same old liberal contraposing of government and society. It is rather difficult to say anything about the class struggle within society, about bourgeoisie and workers, about the growing dissension between liberalism and democracy from the standpoint of the provincial man in the street.

It is difficult to draw conclusions about the rural masses, writes Mr. S. Yelpatievsky.

"Darkness and silence hung over the countryside, where it was difficult to see anything and from where it was hard to hear any-

thing".... The co-operative movement "suddenly burst forth, spreading far and wide" ... the struggle between the *otrub*[95] and the commune peasants ... "*all this did not stand out clearly enough*".

"Admittedly, the wall that is being flung up between the *otrub* and the commune peasants as a result of the government's efforts to divide and split the rural masses is rising higher and higher, but the countryside has evidently not yet produced the feeling and sentiment suitable to the government's aims. The desire for and expectation of land still continue to burn brightly in the hearts of both, and the desire for freedom, for 'rights', which was formerly obscured by the 'land', is evidently becoming increasingly stronger and more compelling."

After observing that "it is the Right-wing circles that are now persistently repeating the word revolution", that these circles "are really scared, really expect a conflict, and are convinced that a catastrophe is unavoidable", our chronicler of Russian life ends up by saying this about the workers:

"*I need not say anything here about the organised workers. There is no need to grope there for one's conclusions—everything there is clear and visible to all. Opinions there are fairly definitely established, there are not only desires and expectations there, but also demands, reinforced by volitional impulses—not sporadic outbreaks, but systematised and fairly well developed methods....* [The dots are Mr. Yelpatievsky's.] *And, undoubtedly, opinions, desires and expectations percolate from this organised environment into the rural environment from which it sprang.*"

This was written by a man who has never been a Marxist and has always stood aloof from the "organised workers". And this appraisal of things *from outside* is all the more valuable to the class-conscious workers.

Mr. Yelpatievsky, one of the "foremost" leaders of liquidationism, would do well to ponder over the implications of the admission he has been obliged to make.

For one thing, among *which* workers does he find "fairly definitely established opinions" and "fairly well developed and systematised methods"? *Only* among the opponents of liquidationism (because, among the liquidators themselves, there is complete chaos in opinions and methods); *only* among those who have not hurried faint-heartedly to turn their backs on the "underground". *Only* among these, indeed, "*everything is clear and visible to all*". Paradoxically enough, it is a fact that chaos reigns among those who yearn for an "open party", that "everything is clear and visible to all", that "opinions are fairly definitely established and meth-

ods fairly well developed" only among the adherents of the "underground", among those who are faithful to the precepts of this allegedly bigoted and hidebound "underground" (cf. *Nasha Zarya*, *Luch*, *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* and *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*).

The first to give birth to liquidationism (Mr. Yelpatievsky, leader of *Russkoye Bogatstvo*) was the first to sign its death warrant and read the burial service at its grave.

Although Mr. Yelpatievsky himself may not be aware of it, the question he raises is far beyond the understanding of certain politicians.

Secondly—and this is most important of all—why is it that in one of the most turbulent and difficult periods of Russian history, in the five years 1908-13, the proletariat was the only class of *all* the classes in the Russian nation that did not "grope" its way about? Why was it only among the proletariat that "everything is clear and visible to all"? Why is the proletariat emerging from the state of utter ideological disintegration and collapse and vacillation in matters concerning programme, tactics and organisation—such as now reign among the liberals, the Narodniks and intellectualist "would-be Marxists"—with "opinions fairly definitely established" and with "methods systematised and fairly well developed"? It is not only because these opinions were established and these methods developed by the "underground", but because there are profound social causes, economic conditions and factors which are operating more and more effectively with every new mile of railway that is built, and with every advance that is made in trade, industry and capitalism in town and countryside, factors which increase, strengthen, steel and unite the proletariat and keep it from following the *lead* of the man in the street, keep it from wavering like philistines, from faint-heartedly renouncing the "underground".

Those who ponder on this will realise the enormous harm that is caused by attempts to "fuse" into a single party the advanced members of the wage-worker class and the inevitably wavering and unstable petty-bourgeois peasantry.

Prosveshcheniye No. 3,
March 1914

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POLITICAL LESSONS

Some time ago, the Council of State rejected the proposal that Polish should be the official language in the future self-governing Poland. This vote, which took place against the wishes of the head of the Ministry, throws considerable light on the question of Russia's master classes and on the "specific features" of our political system and administration.

The long history of the Polish language question in connection with Polish self-government has been highlighted in the press. The Russian landlords, who are at the helm of the state, started negotiations with the Polish aristocracy on this question a long time ago, as far back as 1907. The terms were discussed for at least co-operation, or simply a relatively peaceful cohabitation between the Russian Black Hundreds and the Polish Black Hundreds. And all this was done, of course, entirely and solely in the interests of the "national culture".

Polish national culture was defended by the Polish landlords, who bargained for self-government (instead of autonomy) and for Polish as the official language. Russian national culture was defended by the Great-Russian landlords, who stipulated (possessing everything, they had no need to bargain) supremacy for Russian national culture and the severance from Poland of the "Russian" Holm area. The two parties made a deal, which, among other things, was directed *against* the Jews, whom they reduced in advance to a restrictive "*numerus clausus*", so that Poland should not lag behind Russia in Black-Hundred baiting and oppression of the Jews.

Stolypin is reported to have conducted these negotiations with the Polish aristocracy, the land magnates of Poland, in person. Stolypin made promises. The bills were introduced.

But ... the Holm area found itself detached from Poland, whereas the Polish language in a self-governing Poland *was rejected* by our Council of State. Stolypin's cause was "faithfully and truly" championed by Kokovtsov, but without avail. The Right members of the Council of State did not support him.

Here is another agreement, although a minor one, that was "torn up". Recently, Guchkov stated in the name of the all-Russian bourgeoisie that the latter had entered into a tacit agreement with the counter-revolutionary government "to support it in return for reforms". The support was given, but *no* reforms ensued.

In the example we have quoted, it was not the bourgeoisie, not the opposition, but the blue-blooded landlords who concluded what was also a tacit agreement, viz., "we" shall take a step towards Stolypin, and shall receive self-government, with the Polish language. They took the step, but received no Polish language

Valuable political lessons are to be learnt from this small example. The struggle of nationalities is developing before our eyes into a deal between the ruling classes of two nations, in which special provision is made for the oppression of a third nation (the Jewish). We must not forget that all ruling classes, the bourgeoisie as well as the landlords, even the most democratic bourgeoisie, behave in the same way.

Russia's real political system and administration are revealed in their class basis: the landlords give the orders; they decide and rule. The power of this class is supreme. It gives the bourgeoisie "access" ... only to agreements, which it *tears up*.

Nor is that all. It appears that even *within* the master class itself agreements are "torn up" with extraordinary and supernatural ease. This is what distinguishes Russia from other class states; this constitutes our exceptionalism, under which problems resolved in Europe two hundred or a hundred years ago are still unresolved here.

Prosveshcheniye No. 3,
March 1914
Signed: *V. Ilyin*

Published according to
the text in *Prosveshcheniye*

THE NATIONAL EQUALITY BILL[96]

Comrades:

The Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma has decided to introduce in the Fourth Duma a Bill to abolish the disabilities of the Jews and other non-Russians. The text of this Bill you will find below.

The Bill aims at abolishing all national restrictions against all nations: Jews, Poles, and so forth. But it deals in particular detail with the restrictions against the Jews. The reason is obvious: no nationality in Russia is so oppressed and persecuted as the Jewish. Anti-Semitism is striking ever deeper root among the propertied classes. The Jewish workers are suffering under a double yoke, both as workers and as Jews. During the past few years, the persecution of the Jews has assumed incredible dimensions. It is sufficient to recall the anti-Jewish pogroms and the Beilis case.

In view of these circumstances, organised Marxists must devote proper attention to the Jewish question.

It goes without saying that the Jewish question can effectively be solved only together with the fundamental issues confronting Russia today. Obviously, we do not look to the nationalist-Purishkevich Fourth Duma to abolish the restrictions against the Jews and other non-Russians. But it is the duty of the working class to make its voice heard. And the voice of the *Russian* workers must be particularly loud in protest against national oppression.

In publishing the text of our Bill, we hope that the Jewish workers, the Polish workers, and the workers of the other oppressed nationalities will express their opinion of it and propose amendments, should they deem it necessary.

At the same time we hope that the Russian workers will give particularly strong support to our Bill by their declarations, etc.

In conformity with Article 4 we shall append to the Bill a special list of regulations and laws to be rescinded. This appendix will cover about a hundred such laws affecting the Jews alone.

A BILL FOR THE ABOLITION OF ALL DISABILITIES OF THE JEWS AND OF ALL RESTRICTIONS ON THE GROUNDS OF ORIGIN OR NATIONALITY

1. Citizens of all nationalities inhabiting Russia are equal before the law.

2. No citizen of Russia, regardless of sex and religion, may be restricted in political or in any other rights on the grounds of origin or nationality.

3. All and any laws, provisional regulations, riders to laws, and so forth, which impose restrictions upon Jews in any sphere of social and political life, are herewith abolished. Article 767, Vol. IX, which states that "Jews are subject to the general laws in all cases *where no special regulations affecting them have been issued*" is herewith repealed. All and any restrictions of the rights of Jews as regards residence and travel, the right to education, the right to state and public employment, electoral rights, military service, the right to purchase and rent real estate in towns, villages, etc., are herewith abolished, and all restrictions of the rights of Jews to engage in the liberal professions, etc., are herewith abolished.

4. To the present law is appended a list of the laws, orders, provisional regulations, etc., that limit the right of the Jews, and which are subject to repeal,

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FARM LABOURERS' WAGES

Wages in the manufacturing industry are known to have risen by about *twenty per cent* since 1905.

A first attempt to study the situation as regards the wages of *agricultural labourers* was made in the recently published pamphlet by I. Drozdov, *The Wages of Farm Labourers in Russia in Connection with the Agrarian Movement in 1905-06* (St. Petersburg, 1914, published by M. I. Semyonov, price 50 kopeks). We shall deal with the main conclusions of this interesting treatise.

The farm labourer's average daily wage in European Russia was as follows (in kopeks):

	Kopeks	Per cent
Average for 1902-04	64.0	100.0
" " 1905	64.8	101.2
" " 1906	72.0	112.5
" " 1907	73.1	114.2
" " 1908	72.4	113.1
" " 1909	75.8	118.4
" " 1910	76.6	119.6

These figures show that the highest increase in wages occurred in 1906, the very year when the impact of the 1905 movement must have been at its strongest.

Thus, beginning with 1905, an increase was achieved also in the incredibly low pay of farm labourers! That this progress is still far from adequate is evident from a comparison between money wages and grain prices. The author of the pamphlet made this comparison and expressed the money wages of farm labourers quoted above *in terms of grain* (rye) at average local prices. He found that wages expressed in terms of grain *dropped* from 0.93 poods in 1902-04 to 0.85 poods in 1905 and 0.91 poods in 1906.

In other words, for his day's pay the farm labourer in Russia could buy 0.93 poods of rye in 1902-04 and only 0.91 poods in 1906. Obviously, if not for the impetus of 1905 and 1906, the reduction in *real* wages would have been even greater.

Wages fluctuate considerably from year to year according to the harvest and other causes. For example, between 1905 and 1907 wages rose, though very unevenly, and then in 1908 (the year when the reaction was strongest) they *dropped*, to rise slightly again in 1909 and 1910.

In view of the fluctuation of wages from year to year, it is necessary to take for the purposes of comparison, not individual years, but decades. Making such a comparison, Mr. Drozdov defines the average wage of farm labourers in European Russia for the ten years 1891-1900 at 55.08 kopeks per day, and for the subsequent ten years (1901-10) at 69.18 kopeks per day. This shows an increase of 25.5 per cent.

This means that *three million* farm labourers in Russia (the number is undoubtedly greatly understated) secured increases in pay amounting to about *eighty million rubles per year*, if we count only 200 working days per year.

True, during this period, the price of food products increased on an average by 20.5 per cent. Hence, the *actual* increase in wages, or increase in real wages, was very slight. Expressing daily money wages in terms of grain, the author found an increase of only 3.9 per cent during the revolutionary ten years as compared with the pre-revolutionary ten years. Thus, by exerting all their efforts the labourers succeeded in *keeping wages* at their former level and in raising them only *very slightly*.

On the other hand, a comparison of the changes in labourers' wages and *in the price of land* during the same two decades reveals an *enormous* increase in the incomes of the *landed gentry*. Purchasing land means purchasing the *income* obtained from the land; it means purchasing *rent*; the price of land is therefore capitalised rent. We see that during the two decades the average price per dessiatine rose from R. 69.1 to R.132.4, *i.e.*, *almost doubled*!

The wages of millions of hired workers increased by *one-fourth*. The incomes of the landlords *doubled*. Wages barely kept pace with the price of food products, but the landlords'

incomes rose five times as high as the price of food products. The landowners and well-to-do peasant *proprietors* are growing steadily richer.

It should be borne in mind that the increase in the income from land and the increase in the price of agricultural produce steadily and inevitably widen the class gulf between the rural bourgeois and the rural proletarian, between the *small proprietor* (albeit a "labouring" proprietor) and the wage-worker. Therefore, those who say to the "labouring" peasants: under capitalism your small farm will not save you from poverty and want, your *only* salvation lies in joining the hired workers—speak the truth. But those who, like our "Narodniks", try to defend the interests of the "labouring" peasant *economy* and declare that petty economy is viable under capitalism—such people foster bourgeois aspirations, cultivate the bourgeois, non-proletarian "streak" in the small proprietor, and speak like bourgeois.

Put Pravdy No. 49,
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Signed: *V. I.*

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the text in *Put Pravdy*

THE LETTISH WORKERS AND THE SPLIT IN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP IN THE DUMA

Workers who read the liquidationist press know how often the Russian liquidators have boasted about the Lettish Marxist workers being on their side. When the liquidators split the Social-Democratic group in the Duma, they also repeatedly referred to the Letts. "Nobody would think of accusing the Lettish Social-Democratic workers of repudiating the 'underground'," they wrote, "and yet these Lettish workers are on our side."

Those who knew the facts never doubted that the liquidators were ... deviating from the truth. When the question of the Six and the Seven came up for discussion, the overwhelming majority of these Lettish workers declared in favour of the Six. *Pravda* published scores of resolutions passed by many hundreds of Lettish Social-Democratic workers and quite a number of groups in Riga, Mitau, Libau, and other centres, in defence of the stand taken by the six workers' deputies. Next after St. Petersburg, the city that expressed itself most emphatically on this question was Riga, that important Lettish working-class centre. The resolutions passed by the overwhelming majority of Riga workers breathed a spirit of ardent devotion to the ideas of consistent Marxism, and of sincere indignation with the liquidators.

But one thing is true: eager support, for the liquidators and their Seven came from the Lettish "leadership". The Lettish newspaper, which was then controlled by the liquidators, published articles against the Six which, by their scandalous tone and liquidationist content, put them on a par with the articles published in the St. Petersburg organ of the Russian liquidators.

True, only a very insignificant number of the Lettish *workers* supported the liquidationist campaign. The "leading" body, however, was on the side of the liquidators, and they continued to speak "on behalf of" the Lettish organised proletariat....

But some time elapsed and representatives of all Lettish Marxist workers met.[97] Naturally, the question of the split in the Duma Social-Democratic group was a high point in their proceedings. The "leading" liquidators did everything they possibly could to back the Seven, or, at least, to get the question shelved. Alas, they failed. Through their official representatives[98] the Lettish Social-Democratic workers adopted the following resolution (we quote it verbatim, except for unavoidable changes):

"*The split in the Social-Democratic group in the Duma.*

"Representatives of all the Lettish Marxist workers express their profound regret over the split in the Social-Democratic group in the Duma and are of the opinion that this split was the inevitable consequence of the split outside the group, among the Russian Marxists.

"They emphasise that the unity of the group is essential, and declare that this unity can be achieved:

"1) if unity is based on the decisions adopted by the supreme institutions of the Marxist body prior to the split in the latter, namely, *the Programme of the Marxist body, its Rules*, *the London decisions*, *the decisions of the all-Russia representative body of the Marxists of December 1908 and of January 1910*;

"2) *if a mode of joint activity is found, which will safeguard the rights of the minority in the group.*

"*The Lettish Marxist workers instruct their leading body to support all steps towards unity in keeping with the views expressed in this resolution.*"

Such is the resolution. As the reader will see, its gist is that recognition of the *old* Marxist body is made an essential condition of unity. With those who do not recognise the Programme, Rules, and decisions of 1907, 1908 and 1910,[99] unity is impossible. That is what the Lettish workers said. And that is what makes the Lettish resolution so important.

Conciliatory trends were undoubtedly very strong at the Lettish Congress. The Letts did not want to tell the liquidationist group in the Duma plainly and bluntly that it was a group of splitters, who were flouting the will of the workers, and that they ought to resign from the Duma. They did not want to do that, evidently because the Lettish minority does not go to the same lengths as the Russian liquidators, and also because the Letts still have hopes of a possible reconciliation with the Chkheidze group.

At all events, the Lettish workers formulated precise and clear *conditions* of unity.

How are the issues that split the group in the Duma resolved from the point of view of the Lettish resolution?

The Letts demand, firstly, acceptance of the Programme. This means that they *condemn* advocacy of the famous "cultural-national autonomy" from the Duma rostrum. For the Programme officially rejected this demand, and even liquidator L. Martov has admitted that "cultural-national autonomy" is scarcely in keeping with the Programme. If unity is to become possible, the liquidators must renounce cultural-national autonomy. Such is the meaning of the Lettish reply to the first point at issue.

Next comes the dispute about admitting deputy Jagiello into the group. *How* do the Lettish workers settle this dispute? They say: see the decision of December 1908. We take up this document, look and read:

"On amalgamation with the P.S.P. Left-wing.

"After hearing the proposal of our Menshevik comrades concerning amalgamation with the P.S.P. Left-wing, the all-Russia representative body of the Marxists proceeds without debate to the order of the day." (See Report, p. 46.)

The thing is clear. The all-Russia decision of 1908 flatly rejected the proposal to amalgamate with Jagiello's party in any shape or form. The liquidators *violated* this decision. Consequently, they must reverse their splitting decision concerning Jagiello.

Further, the Letts demand acceptance of all decisions on points of principle adopted in December 1908 and January 1910. What are these decisions? And how do they appraise

liquidationism? We take the documents concerned and read:

"Whereas in a number of areas attempts have been observed on the part of some of the Party intelligentsia to liquidate the 'underground' and to substitute for it an amorphous federation acting at all costs within the limits of legality, even at the cost of openly abandoning the programme, tactics and traditions of the Marxist body ... *holds that it is necessary to wage a relentless struggle against the liquidators' attempts*, and calls upon all truly Marxist workers, irrespective of group or trend, to offer the most strenuous resistance to these attempts."

This is how the 1908 decisions condemned liquidationism (see p. 38 of the Report). The Letts demanded acceptance of these decisions.

Next come the decisions of January 1910. Here we read: "The historical situation in the Social-Democratic movement in the period of bourgeois counter-revolution inevitably gives rise—*as a manifestation of the bourgeois influence on the proletariat*—to ... repudiation of the illegal Party, belittling of its role and importance, and attempts to whittle down the programmatic and tactical tasks and the slogans of the entire body of Marxists."

Thus did the decisions of 1910 condemn liquidationism. And it was the Letts again who demanded recognition of these decisions by the liquidators.

The Lettish resolution was adopted *unanimously*. Even the Lettish liquidators who were present dared not vote against it. They had received a sufficiently severe lesson from the Lettish workers, who respect the "underground" and recognise the decisions of the old body of Marxists. To vote against this resolution would have meant defying the whole Lettish proletariat and losing their last supporters among the workers.

Such were the decisions of the Lettish workers (over three thousand organised workers being represented).

In a very polite form, without using a single harsh word, but nonetheless firmly and emphatically, the Lettish workers said to the Chkheidze group:

"Do you want unity? Then recognise the extremely important decisions of the old body of Marxists, retract your

violations of the Programme and decisions of 1908-10, repudiate those who have repudiated the 'underground'; in short, take your stand on the basis of Marxism."

The last really workers' organisation, in whose name the Chkheidze group tried to speak, turned its back on that group. As was to be expected, only a handful of liquidators now support the seven deputies who are inclining towards liquidationism. The proletarian element is abandoning or has already abandoned them.

A group without workers—such is the liquidationist group in the Duma.

After the Letts' decision, this is now absolutely indisputable.

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THE "AUGUST" FICTION EXPOSED

Over eighteen months ago, in August 1912, there occurred an event of fairly great importance in the history of the working-class movement in Russia, On the eve of the elections to the Fourth Duma, the liquidators "united" with, as they put it, the representatives of different trends at the August Conference, thereby attempting to prove that they were not liquidators at all, that they had not liquidated anything, and had no intention of doing so, and that "unity" between them and the really serious, non-fictitious workers' Marxist organisations was quite possible.

The August Conference shifted the dispute between the liquidators and their opponents to a different plane: it became, not only a question of whether the liquidators' theory and tactics were correct, but also of whether the liquidators' utterances were confirmed or refuted by *their own* deeds. Was *their* August Conference a fiction, make-believe, a fraud and a bubble, or was it a serious affair, a sincere step, something real that showed the *possibility* of the liquidators rectifying their errors?

That is how the matter stood.

The liquidators' deeds, the results of their August Conference, had to provide an answer to this question.

This answer has now been given by the only Marxist body, namely, the Lettish Marxists, recognised by *all* trends and groups without exception as Marxists who have not violated Party decisions, and have *themselves* gone through the famous August experience. We learn from well-informed sources that the meeting of the highest representatives of the organised Lettish Marxists in Russia has drawn to a close. The supremely authoritative character of this assembly of representatives of the Lettish organised Marx-

ists has not been challenged by anyone, not by a single trend or by a single group; on the contrary, it was attended by representatives and authorised delegates, not only from the majority of the workers of Russia (anti-liquidators), *but also from the liquidators*, from their leading, August body, as well as from the Bund and the P.S.P. Left-wing.

The eighteen months' experience of August blocs and institutions was discussed from every angle and appraised by those who had themselves gone through this experience in an endeavour to help the liquidators rid themselves of liquidationism.

What was the upshot of this discussion and appraisal?

"*The attempt on the part of the conciliators*," *the decision of the Lettish organised Marxists reads*, "*to unite at all costs with the liquidator*s (*the August Conference of 1912*) *proved fruitless*, *and the uniters themselves became ideologically and politically dependent upon the liquidators*"....

This is the official decision of an unbiased body of Marxists, which fully and conclusively exposes the August fiction!

What we have been saying for two years, and what the liquidators—while calling God to witness, and heaping abuse upon us—have been denying, has now been proved and officially declared by those who *themselves participated* in the August Conference, in the August bloc, and in the leading August body.

The Lettish organised Marxists have officially admitted that the "focal point of the inner-Party struggle during the past five years has been the question of the liquidationist trend" long ago condemned by the entire Party, and that their, the Lettish, representative *was being recalled* from the August leading body because that body (so runs the decision of the Lettish Marxists) "*has not dissociated itself from the liquidators*".

Thus, events have fully proved that we were right, and have once again exposed the liquidators. We were right when we said that the August Conference was a fiction, an imposture, a customary (in petty-bourgeois parties and groups) *pre-election fraud*. The liquidators dared not go to the elections with their banner and honestly stand by their

convictions; they hid behind the August bloc, calling God to witness that they were not liquidating-anything.

The Letts have exposed this fraud.

Mind you, these Letts were and remain *neutral*, so neutral that they decided not to enter into any organisational relations with any section of the Russian organised Marxists! The exposure of the August fiction and of the liquidators' election masquerade is the more significant for its coming from *neutral* organisations.

We shall have more than one occasion to revert to the decisions of the Lettish Marxists, which prove once again how right we were when we said that the unity of the Marxist workers in Russia was possible only *in opposition* to the liquidators. In conclusion, we would mention only one particularly important decision on the national principle in the Marxist organisation.

The Lettish Marxists themselves represent the workers of a disfranchised and oppressed nation, and conduct their activities in centres with very mixed populations. In Riga, for example, they have to deal with German, Russian, Lettish, Jewish and Lithuanian proletarians. Long years of experience have firmly convinced the Lettish Marxists of the correctness of the principle of *international unity* in the local organisations of the working class.

"*In every city*," *the Lettish Marxists' decision reads*, "*there must be one united organisation of Marxist proletarians, which must operate on the lines recognised by the Stockholm Congress, and in conformity with the commentaries of the All-Russia Conference of 1908*."

These commentaries, as we know, *definitely* condemned the principle of federation. Not the federation of national workers' organisations, but international unity, a single organisation that conducts activities in *all* the languages spoken by the proletariat in every local area.

That is the only correct principle of Marxism. That is the only socialist form of resistance to the nationalist philistines, who are trying *to split the proletariat into national sections*. That is a demand for the decision of the entire Party to be carried out, a decision the Bund has violated and is continuing to violate in a most flagrant manner.

An end is coming to the deception sown among the workers by the liquidators and Bundists, who are causing a split while trying to shout loudest about "unity". The decision of the Lettish Marxists, who are neutral in our (Russian) conflict, has conclusively proved to all workers that real *unity* can and must be built up only in opposition to those splitters who defy the Party's long-standing and constant demand for the abandoning of liquidationism and of the principle that workers' organisations should be divided according to nationality.

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SOCIALISM DEMOLISHED AGAIN[100]

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the text in the journal

Less than a decade separates us from the turbulent period of 1905, and yet the change that has taken place in Russia in this short time seems tremendous. Russia seems all at once to have changed from a patriarchal into a modern capitalist country. Leo Tolstoy, the ideologist of the old Russia, expressed this in a characteristic and rueful tirade when he complained that the Russian people "have learnt with astonishing rapidity to make revolutions and parliaments".[101]

Naturally, Russia's "sudden" transformation into a bourgeois country in a matter of five or ten years in the twentieth century was possible only because the entire second half of the preceding century had been a stage in the transition from the feudal to the bourgeois system.

It is interesting to note how this change affected the attitude towards Marxism of our official, university science of political economy. In the good old days, only government professors of the extreme right engaged in the business of "demolishing" Marx. Liberal-Narodnik professorial scholarship as a whole treated Marx with respect, "recognised" the labour theory of value, and thereby created the naïve illusion among "Left Narodniks" that in Russia there was no soil for a bourgeoisie.

Today, there has "suddenly" sprung up in this country a host of liberal and progressive "Marxophobes", among them men like Mr. Tugan-Baranovsky,* or Mr. Struve, etc. All of them *have disclosed* the true content and significance of liberal-Narodnik "respect" for Marx. In word, their respect has remained, but in deed, their long-standing inability to understand materialist dialectics and the theory of the class struggle has inevitably led them to renounce the theory of labour value.

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* See pp. 144-47 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Until 1905 the bourgeoisie saw no other enemy than, the feudalists and the "bureaucrats"; that is why they tried to be sympathetic towards the theory espoused by the European proletariat, and tried not to see the "enemy on the left". After 1905, a counter-revolutionary liberal bourgeoisie appeared in Russia, and professorial, liberal scholarship, *without the slightest loss* of prestige in "society", seriously proceeded to demolish Marx.

We propose to acquaint the reader with the latest scholarly work of one of these "serious" scholars.

I

Last year V. P. Ryabushinsky published Part I of Mr. Pyotr Struve's work *The Economy and Prices* (M. 1913). The celebrated "alliance between science and industry", which was first marked by Mr. Ryabushinsky's publication of Mr. Struve's discourse on "Great Russia", has gained strength and attained full stature. From a simple alliance between science and industry there has now emerged an alliance between science, industry and the authorities, for Mr. Struve submitted his research as a treatise for a scientific degree, which has been conferred on him.

In his preface Mr. Struve assures us that he planned this work about fifteen years ago. Consequently, we have every reason to expect a piece of serious and solid research.

The author himself holds a very high opinion of his work, in which he promises to "revise" ("critically", of course) "certain traditional problems and principles of political economy". The revision also involves the significance of price "as the fundamental concept of political economy".

> "This revision will lead to the posing of new methodological problems for our science in the spirit of consistent empiricism, based on strictly evolved, precise concepts and clear distinctions."

This sentence, taken from the concluding lines of Mr. Struve's "work", contains the *leit-motif*, as it were, of his treatise. The author's programme is "consistent empiricism" (this is how any fashionable philosopher starts in our day, no matter what sanctimonious humbug his theory may lead up to) and the "strict evolution of precise concepts and clear

distinctions". The familiar motive of the celebrated "criticism", which so often amounts to nothing more than verbal scholasticism....

Mr. Struve wants to see "consistent empiricism" particularly in that part of his book, by far the larger, in which he gives "sketches and materials on the historical phenomenology of price" (this takes up nearly the whole of Section 2 of Part I). And by "strict evolution of precise concepts and clear distinctions" he means his disquisition, in Section 1 and in the Introduction, on "some fundamental philosophical motives in the development of economic thinking", on "the economy and society", etc.

We shall first deal with these fundamental theoretical reflections of Mr. Struve's.

II

"The normative, ethical conception of worth (*tsennost*) [value (*stoimost*); Mr. Struve persistently uses the wrong term "worth" instead of "value", although the incorrectness of this was proved to him long ago] that still prevails also among the canonists, is not so far removed as it may seem from the conception of worth as the intrinsic 'basis' or 'law' of price. Indeed, we see that the '*bonitas intrinseca*' '*valor*', and '*pretium naturale*'* of the canonists is transformed into the '*intrinsic value*', or '*natural value*', or '*natural price*', i.e., the objective worth** of the later economists" (XXV).

Here we see Mr. Struve's main idea (or rather his main ideophobia) and the typical methods of this author. To discredit the scientific law of value, Mr. Struve tries hard to identify it with the "ethical" law of the canonists. Mr. Struve, of course, cannot produce a shred of evidence to support this. Considering that he writes "we see" in a footnote referring to a passage (and an irrelevant one at that) in the work of a

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* Intrinsic utility; price, worth, and natural price.—*Ed.*

** Incidentally, in admitting that the "later" (compared with the medieval canonists) economists have in mind precisely *objective* "worth", Mr. Struve immediately reveals the incorrectness of his own subjectivist insistence on the word "worth" as against "objective" "*value*".

Russian Kantian of 1810, one can imagine what difficulty our scholar had in his search for proofs!

Mr. Struve cannot but know that in the Middle Ages all scientific laws, not only the law of value, were understood in a religious and ethical sense. Even the laws of natural science were interpreted by the canonists in the same way. Therefore, the identification of the canonists' law of price with that of the representatives of classical political economy simply cannot be taken seriously. This "idea" of Mr. Struve's could hardly be called an idea; it is simply ideophobia covered up with a purely childish trick.

Mr. Struve continues:

"The 'law of worth' becomes the '*idée fixe*' of political economy. And in this sphere the 'universalist' ('realistic') thought motive stands out most clearly in the works of an author who blends it with the greatest sweep of general-philosophical conception of economic science, namely, *Marx*. In his works this motive is combined with a materialist world outlook that is all the more valuable for not being elaborated in detail. He turned labour value, not only into a law, but also into the 'substance' of price. We have shown more than once in our works the way in which this mechanically naturalist and at the same time 'realistic' conception of worth vainly tries to embrace the world of empirical phenomena of economic life and culminates in a colossal and hopeless contradiction."

This is a striking illustration of Mr. Struve's "scientific" method! This is his method of annihilating Marx! A couple of pseudo-scientific terms, a hint at thought motives, and a reference to a short magazine article in *Zhizn*[102] in 1900—that is all he can boast of. That is not much, Professor!

In his brief magazine articles Mr. Struve failed to prove that there was any kind of contradiction, let alone a "colossal" one, between Vol. I and Vol. III of Marx's *Capital*, between the labour theory of value and the formation of average price on the basis of the law of value.

The medieval "distinction" between nominalism and realism and the contraposition of universalism and singularism, which Mr. Struve juggles with, add nothing whatever to our understanding of Marx's theory, to criticism of it, or to the clarification of Mr. Struve's own theory (or what he

claims to be his own theory). It is juggling, scientific junk, but not science. Of course, in the controversy between medieval nominalists and realists there is some analogy with the controversy between materialists and idealists, but analogies and historical continuity can be established between very many other theories, not only into the Middle Ages, but also into ancient times. To study seriously the links between the controversies of at least the Middle Ages and the history of materialism, special research would be required. Our author's book, however, contains no trace whatever of a serious study of the subject. He flits from subject to subject, hints at a thousand questions without examining a single one, and with a boldness that is amusing enunciates the most emphatic conclusions.

He himself is compelled to admit in the passage we have quoted that Marx blended his philosophy and political economy into an *integral* materialist world outlook, and that Marx's general philosophical conception is *the broadest*!

This is no trifling admission. A person who is compelled to make such an admission and who talks about a critical revision of political economy and about its new methodological tasks, is in duty bound seriously to examine *all* the components of Marx's "integral" materialist world outlook. But Mr. Struve does not even attempt to do that. He confines himself to a few slighting remarks against "metaphysical materialism". Who does not know that, from the point of view of the fashionable theories of agnosticism (Kantianism, positivism, Machism, and so forth), both consistent materialism and consistent philosophical idealism are "metaphysics"? In making remarks of this kind, Mr. Struve merely *hints* at his own philosophical world outlook, which has nothing integral about it. But the task of examining and studying Marx's *integral* materialist world outlook cannot be dismissed with remarks of this kind. To attempt to do so is merely to issue oneself with a *testimonium paupertatis*.

III

On the other hand, the attempt to identify Marxism with the scholastic doctrine of original sin is such a gem in Mr. Struve's scientific treatise that we cannot refrain from

examining it in greater detail. We ask our readers' forgiveness in advance for quoting long passages, but one must be accurate here in order to pin down more firmly the methods used by modern liberal-professorial science.

"It is quite clear to me," writes Mr. Struve, "that many centuries ago Marx's theory of labour worth, in its logical structure had its extremely close analogy and prototype in the 'realistically' grounded scholastic doctrine of original sin.... Just as according to Marx empirical 'prices' are governed by the law of worth, and owe their existence to the substance of worth, so to speak, so, according to scholasticism, the empirical actions of men are determined by original sin.

"Here are some analogies.

"*Marx*: 'The matter will be most readily pictured by regarding this whole mass of commodities, produced by one branch of industry, as one commodity, and the sum of the prices of the many identical commodities as one price. Then, whatever has been said of a single commodity applies literally to the mass of commodities of an entire branch of production available in the market. The requirement that the individual value of a commodity should correspond to its social value is now realised, or further determined, in that the mass contains social labour necessary for its production, and that the value of this mass is equal to its market value.'[103]

"*Thomas Aquinas*: 'We must say that all men who are born of Adam may be regarded as one man, since they are identical in the nature which they inherited from their progenitor, just as, for example, all men who live in one county are regarded as one body, and the whole county as one man'...."

Quite enough, is it not? Mr. Struve assures us that this is "not playing at striking [!?] analogies or witticising". Perhaps. But it is undoubtedly playing at vulgar analogies, or rather, simply clowning. If people who regard themselves as liberal and progressive scholars are capable of tolerating such heroes of buffoonery in their midst; if these heroes are granted scientific degrees, and are allowed to instruct the young, then that only shows for the hundredth and thousandth time what the "law" of the bourgeois era is: the more

insolently and shamelessly you make mock of science in the effort to demolish Marx, the greater is your merit.

Mr. Struve had to resort to clownish antics in order to cover up his sheer inability to refute Marx. That the whole mass of commodities of a given branch of industry is exchanged for the sum of commodities of another branch, is an indisputable fact. That all "empiricists" determine average price by taking the whole mass of commodities and dividing the aggregate price by the number of individual commodities, is also a fact. Statistics, for which Mr. Struve has such a liking (and which, as we shall see below, he only "hints at" instead of trying to study), prove to us at every turn that Marx's method is constantly employed. But what do professional "socialistophobes" care? The thing is to take a kick at Marx; all the rest will take care of itself.

The nature of the philosophical authorities who give Mr. Struve their benediction in his noble occupation can be seen, among other things, from the following words uttered by our professor:

> "In this work [that of summing-up the ideas of the nineteenth century] impartial posterity should assign a prominent place to the great French metaphysician Renouvier, to whom many of the critical and positive ideas of our times can be traced" (43).

Renouvier was the head of the French school of "neo-critical idealism", "an obscurantist of the first water", as he was called by the empirio-critic (i.e., anti-materialist philosopher) Willy (see my remarks on Renouvier in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism. Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy*. Moscow, 1909, p. 247). * Renouvier wrote the word "law" with a capital L and simply converted it into a basis for religion.

See by what methods Mr. Struve demolishes Marx's "integral [as he himself admits] materialist world outlook"; he puts Marx on the same footing as a medieval theologian on the sole grounds that Marx takes the aggregate prices of commodities of a single branch of production, while the medieval theologian, Thomas Aquinas, takes all men who descend from the first man Adam, and uses this as a basis for his doctrine of original sin. At the same time

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* See present edition, Vol. 14, p. 211.—*Ed*.

Marx is demolished in the name of the "great" Renouvier who preached philosophical idealism in the nineteenth century and used the concept of "law" as a basis for religion!

O Mr. Struve! O disciple of the "great" Renouvier! O teacher charged with the enlightenment of Russian youth!

IV

"In the vast reconstruction," writes Mr. Struve, "which the edifice of political economy, as based on the idea of natural law, underwent after the onslaught of historism, both mystical and materialist, that idea was an utter failure. Its basic inner contradiction manifested itself. The latter revealed itself perhaps most glaringly in that form of 'natural' political economy which became the theoretical foundation of bourgeois economic liberalism.... Indeed, if natural law reigns in economic life, there can be no facts in that life which are out of harmony with natural law, or contradict it. And yet liberal 'natural' political economy constantly fought, in books and in life, against such facts.... After the bankruptcy of bourgeois liberal political economy it became almost indecent to speak of 'natural law'. On the one hand, it was obviously unscientific to single out from an integral and, in principle, uniform social economic process certain individual aspects, relations and phenomena, as 'natural', and place them in a special category of phenomena. On the other hand, the proclamation of 'natural law', which even in economic liberalism rested on an unconscious ethical motive, was ethically discredited because it was regarded as a method that justified or perpetuated certain social relations and forms that were only of temporary significance, because it was regarded as a 'bourgeois' apologia" (56-57).

This is how the author disposes of the idea of natural law. And this has been written by a man who is compelled to admit that "the materialist Marx extended a hand to the materialist Petty across the whole of the eighteenth century" (56), and that "Petty is the most striking and most outstanding exponent of the powerful current which at the time flowed from natural to social science" (50).

It is common knowledge that a powerful current flowed from natural to social science not only in Petty's time, but in Marx's time as well. And this current remains just as powerful, if not more so, in the twentieth century too. How can one raise the question of this "current" and speak of the materialism of Petty and Marx in a work that claims to be scientific, and is meant to study "the philosophical

motives of economic thinking", without saying anything whatever about the philosophical premises and deductions of natural science?

But that is precisely Mr. Struve's manner: to raise, or rather, touch upon, a thousand and one questions, to "hold forth" on everything, to present everything as being weighed and considered, but to give nothing except a hash of quotations and running comments.

It is a downright falsehood to say that the idea of natural law is bankrupt in political economy, and that it is "indecent to speak of it". On the contrary. It is the "current from natural to social science" that has been reinforcing this idea and made it inevitable. It is "materialist historism" that conclusively substantiated this idea, after stripping it of its metaphysical (in the Marxist sense of this term, i.e., anti-dialectical) absurdities and defects. To say that the "natural law" of the classics is "ethically discredited" as being a bourgeois apologia, is sheer nonsense. It means distorting both the classics and "materialist historism" in the most flagrant manner. For the classics sought and discovered a number of capitalism's "natural laws", but they failed to understand its transitory character, failed to perceive the class struggle within it. Both these faults were remedied by materialist historism and "ethical derogation" has nothing to do with it.

By employing exaggeratedly "strong" language ("indecent" to speak about "natural law"), Mr. Struve is trying in vain to conceal his *dread* of science, a *dread* of scientific analysis of the modern economy, so characteristic of the bourgeoisie. Lordly scepticism is characteristic of them, as it is of all declining classes, but the idea of a natural law governing the functioning and development of society is not declining, but is steadily gaining ground.

V

We shall now examine the "strictly evolved, precise concepts and clear distinctions" which Mr. Struve promised to provide for the "formulation of new methodological problems" of political economy.

"We define economy" we read on page 5, "as the subjective teleological entity of rational economic activity or economic management."

This sounds "awfully learned", but it is really a mere juggling with words. Economy is defined as economic management! A statement of the obvious.... The "subjective entity of economic management" may be found in dreams and fantastic novels.

Afraid to say the production of *material* products ("metaphysical materialism"!), Mr. Struve gives us a gewgaw, not a definition. By eliminating every element and symptom of social relationships, Mr. Struve has "invented", as if on purpose, an "economy" that *political economy* has never studied, and can never study.

Here are the "three main types of economic systems" that he then goes on to enumerate: 1) the sum total of parallel economic units; 2) the system of interacting economies, and 3) "community-economy" as the "subjective teleological entity". The first type covers, if you please, economies that are not interlinked and do not interact (an attempt to revive Robinson Crusoe!); the second refers to slavery, serfdom, capitalism, and simple commodity production; the third refers to communism, "which was practised in the Jesuit state in Paraguay to the extent that it is at all practicable". This masterly classification, in which no trace of historical reality is discernible, is supplemented by the distinction drawn between economic and social systems.

Economic categories, Mr. Struve tells us edifyingly, "express the economic relation in which every subject engaged in economy stands to the surrounding world"; *inter-economic* categories "express phenomena that spring from the interaction of the autonomous economies"; *social* categories "spring from the social inequality among interacting people engaged in economy".

Thus, the economic system of slavery, serfdom and capitalism may be logically, economically and historically detached from social inequality! This is what emerges from Mr. Struve's clumsy efforts to introduce new definitions and distinctions. "Arguing in the abstract, the sum total of parallel economic units is compatible with relations of equality and inequality. It may be a peasant democracy or a feudal society."

This is how our author reasons. From the point of view of theory—logic, economics and history—his reasoning is utterly absurd. By stretching the concept of the "sum total of parallel economic units" to cover almost everything, he reveals how meaningless that concept is. Peasant democracy, feudalism, and proprietors living side by side (on one floor, on one landing, in a St. Petersburg apartment house), are all the "sum total of parallel economic units"! The author has already forgotten that, in his system, this sum total is supposed to characterise *one of the three* main types of economic systems. Mr. Struve's "scientific" definitions and distinctions are mere gibberish.

This crude and trivial quibbling, however, this flouting of logic and history has a "meaning" of its own. That "meaning" is bourgeois despair and "don't-care-a-damn attitude" (if one can thus translate the French expression "*je m'en fiche*"). Despair of ever being able to give a scientific analysis of the present, a denial of science, a tendency to despise all generalisations, to hide from all the "laws" of historical development, and make the trees screen the *wood*—such is the class idea underlying the fashionable bourgeois scepticism, the dead and deadening scholasticism, which we find in Mr. Struve's book. "Social inequality" *should not* be attributed to the economic system; it is *impossible* to do that (because the bourgeoisie does not wish it)—that is Mr. Struve's "theory". Let political economy indulge in truisms, scholastics and the senseless pursuit of trivial facts (examples of which will be found below), and let the question of "social inequalities" recede into the safer sphere of sociological and legal arguments. These unpleasant questions can more easily be "ducked" in that sphere.

Economic reality glaringly reveals the class division of society as the basis of the economic system of both capitalism and feudalism. From the moment political economy made its appearance, science has concentrated its attention on *explaining* this class division. Classical political economy took a number of steps along this road, and Marx took a step further. Today's bourgeoisie is so scared by this step, so disturbed by the "laws" of modern economic evolution, which are all too obvious and too formidable, that the bourgeois and their ideologists are prepared to throw all

the classics and all the laws overboard, so long as they can relegate all these social inequalities, or whatever you call them ... to the archives of jurisprudence.

VI

Mr. Struve would particularly like to relegate the concept of value to the archives. "Worth," he writes, "as something distinct from price, independent of it and yet determining it, is a phantom" (96). "The category of objective worth is merely, so to speak, the metaphysical doubling of the category of price" (97).

To demolish socialism, Mr. Struve has chosen the most ... radical, the easiest, and at the same time the most flimsy method, that of repudiating science altogether. Here the lordly scepticism of the *blasé* and frightened bourgeois reaches its *nec plus ultra*. Like the advocate in Dostoyevsky's novel who, in defending his client charged with murder for the purpose of robbery, went to the length of saying that there had been neither robbery nor murder; Mr. Struve "refutes" Marx's theory of value simply by *asserting* that value is a phantom.

> "At present it is no longer necessary to refute it [the theory of objective value]; it need only be described in the way we have done here and in our 'Introduction' to show that it does not and cannot exist in scientific theory" (97).

Now how can one help calling this most "radical" method most flimsy? For thousands of years mankind has been aware of the operation of an objective law in the phenomenon of exchange, has been trying to understand it and express it with the utmost precision, has been testing its explanations by millions and billions of day-by-day observations of economic life; and suddenly, a fashionable representative of a fashionable occupation—that of collecting quotations (I almost said collecting postage stamps)—comes along and "does away with all this": "worth is a phantom".

Not for nothing has it been said that were the truths of mathematics to affect the interests of men (or rather, the interests of classes in their struggle), those truths would be heatedly challenged. No great brains are needed to challenge the incontestible truths of economic science. Just a word

inserted about value being a phantom, *something independent of price*—and the trick is done!

It does not matter that such an insertion is ridiculous. Price is a manifestation of the law of value. Value is the law of price, i.e., the generalised expression of the phenomenon of price. To speak of "independence" here is a mockery of science, which in all fields of knowledge reveals the operation of fundamental laws in a seeming chaos of phenomena.

Take, for example, the law of the variation of species and of the formation of higher species from lower ones. It would be very cheap to designate as a phantom the generalisations of natural science, the already discovered laws (accepted by all despite the host of seeming contraventions and deviations shown in the medley of individual cases), and the search for corrections and supplements to them. In the field of natural science, anyone who said that the laws governing phenomena in the natural world were phantoms would be put into a lunatic asylum, or simply laughed out of court. In the field of economic science, however, a man who struts about ... stark naked ... is readily appointed professor, for he is really quite fitted to stultify the minds of the pampered sons of the bourgeoisie.

"Price is a fact. We will put it this way: price is the concept of the real exchange relations between wealth in the process of exchange; it is a realised exchange relation.

"Worth is a norm. We will put it this way: worth is the concept of the ideal, or what ought to be the interrelation between wealth in the process of exchange" (88).

How characteristic of Mr. Struve is this negligent, ostentatiously off-hand remark: "We will put it this way". Deliberately ponderous, and, juggling with abstruse terms and new-fangled formulations, Mr. Struve suddenly adopts the *feuilleton* tone.... Indeed, it would be difficult to proclaim value a phantom without adopting a *feuilleton* tone.

If price is a "realised exchange relation", then it may be asked: relation between what? Obviously, between the economic units engaged in the process of exchange. If this "exchange relation" does not arise accidentally, as an isolated case and for a brief period, but repeats itself with invariable regularity, everywhere, and every day, then it is obvious that this "exchange relation" links the sum total

of economic units in *a single economic system*; obviously, there is a firmly established division of labour between these economic units.

Thus, all Mr. Struve's wily reasoning about "inter-economic" relations, which are alleged to be *separable* from social relations, are *already* collapsing like a house of cards. Mr. Struve has driven the concept of commodity production out of the door only to let it steal in through the window. Mr. Struve's famous "empiricism" consists in expelling from science generalisations that are unpleasant to the bourgeoisie, but which nevertheless have to be recognised unofficially, so to speak.

If price is an exchange relation, then one must inevitably understand the difference between an individual exchange relation and a constant one, between an accidental and mass relation, between a momentary relation and one that embraces a long period of time. If that is the case—and it certainly is—we must as inevitably work upward from the accidental and the individual to the constant and widespread: from price to value. Mr. Struve's attempts to proclaim value as something which "should be", to identify it with ethics, or with the doctrine of the canonists, and so forth, collapse like a house of cards.

By saying that the recognition of value as a phantom is "empiricism" and that the striving (which can be traced "from Aristotle" to Marx—p. 91—and it should be added: through the whole of classical political economy!)—the striving to discover the *law* of the formation of and change in prices is "metaphysics", Mr. Struve repeats the method of the latest philosophical reactionaries, who by "metaphysics" mean the materialism of natural science in general, and by "empiricism" mean taking a step towards religion. Expelling *laws* from science means, in fact, *smuggling in the laws of religion*. In vain does Mr. Struve imagine that his "little stratagems" can deceive anybody with reference to this simple and undoubted fact.

VII

As we have seen, Mr. Struve has evaded a pitched battle with the Marxists and taken shelter behind scepticism in general. But he has made up for this by the zeal with which

he has scattered remarks against Marxism throughout his book, in the hope of catching his readers after they have been stunned by the mass of random and disjointed quotations flung at them.

For example, he quotes a brief passage from Saint-Simon, mentions a series of books on Saint-Simon (this copying from German bibliographies is systematically practised by our "scholar", evidently as the surest road ... to a scientific degree), and quotes lengthy passages from Renouvier about Saint-Simon.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from this?

It is the following: "Paradoxical as it may seem, it is simply an incontrovertible historical fact that the higher form of socialism, so-called scientific socialism, is the offspring of the liaison between revolutionary and reactionary thought" (51-52). For the path to scientific socialism can be traced through Saint-Simon, and "Saint-Simon was a disciple of both eighteenth century Enlightenment, and of the reactionaries of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" (53). "This should always be borne in mind: historical materialism is essentially the product of the reaction against the spirit of the eighteenth century. First, it is the reaction of the organic view against rationalism; secondly, it is the reaction of economism against politicism. Moreover, in his religious period, Saint-Simon represented the reaction of emotion and religion against the ideas of law and human justice" (54-55). To seal this, Mr. Struve repeats: "Marxism is the formula of the French theocratical school, and of the historical counter-revolutionary reaction in general, translated into the language of positivism, atheism and radicalism. Dismissing reason, Marx remained a revolutionary and a socialist" (55)....

If Marx succeeded in assimilating and further developing, on the one hand, "the spirit of the eighteenth century" in its struggle against the feudal and clerical powers of the Middle Ages, and on the other hand, the economism and historism (and also the dialectics) of the philosophers and historians of the early nineteenth century, it only proves the depth and power of Marxism, and only confirms the opinions of those who regard Marxism as the *last word* in science. With a clarity that left no room for misunderstanding

Marx always pointed out that the doctrines of the reactionaries—historians and philosophers—contained profound ideas about the operation of definite laws and the class struggle in the march of political events.

But Mr. Struve performs capers and declares that Marxism is the offspring of reaction, although he immediately adds that Marxism can be traced, *not* to Saint-Simon the *clericalist*, but to Saint-Simon the historian and economist!

It appears that, by means of a catch-phrase, and *without saying a single* serious word about the contribution made by Saint-Simon to social science *after* the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century and *before* Marx, our author *has leaped* over the whole of social science in general.

Inasmuch as this science was built up, first, by the classical economists, who discovered the law of value and the fundamental division of society into classes; *inasmuch* as important contributions to this science were made, in conjunction with the classical economists, by the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century in its struggle against feudalism and clericalism; *inasmuch* as this science was promoted by the historians and philosophers of the early nineteenth century who, notwithstanding their reactionary views, still further explained the class struggle, developed the dialectical method and applied it, or began to apply it, in social life—Marxism, which made tremendous advances along precisely this path, marks the *highest development* of Europe's entire historical, economic and philosophical science. Such is the logical deduction. But Mr. Struve's deduction says: Marxism is *therefore* not worth refuting, the laws of value, and so forth, are not even worth discussing, and Marxism is the offspring of reaction!

Does Mr. Struve really think that he can deceive his readers and disguise his obscurantism with such crude methods?

VIII

Obviously, Mr. Struve's scientific treatise would not have been a scientific treatise submitted for a scientific degree if it did not set out to "prove" that socialism is impracticable.

Perhaps you think this is going too far? Is it possible, in a work dealing with the question of price and economy as well as "certain philosophical motives" of political economy, to "prove" that socialism is impracticable without even attempting to study the historical tendencies of capitalism?

Oh, for Mr. Struve there is nothing easier! Listen:

"In the final analysis, economic liberalism envisages complete identity—on the basis of the operation of 'natural law'—between the rational and what ought to be, and the natural and necessary in the socio-economic process, its complete rationalisation.... Socialism, in its most perfect form of historical, or what is called scientific socialism, while rejecting 'natural law', at the same time accepts this fundamental idea of economic liberalism. It also assumes that harmony is possible between a rational structure and the natural course of things, and that the complete rationalisation of the socio-economic process is possible" (p. 58). Then come a few off-hand phrases about this "belief" (p. 59) and the following ponderous scientific deduction (p. 60). (Paragraph 7, Chapter 2, Section I of Part I of Mr. Struve's "work"):

"Comparing the socialist and liberal ideal with the world of reality, scientifically empirical research must admit that the belief contained in these ideals is groundless. In the formal sense, both these ideals are equally impracticable, equally utopian."

When reading things like this, one can scarcely believe the evidence of one's eyes. What a degree of senile decay and prostitution has been reached by present-day professorial science! Mr. Struve knows perfectly well that scientific socialism is based on the fact of capitalism's socialisation of production. This fact is borne out by a host of phenomena to be observed all over the world. And there is a wealth of "empirical" evidence pointing to the degree and rapidity with which these phenomena are developing.

But our scholar, who evades the question of the socialisation of production and does *not* touch upon a *single* sphere of these innumerable facts in his "scientifically empirical research", declares, on the basis of a few meaningless phrases about liberalism and rationalisation, that the question is scientifically solved!

It is not true to say that liberalism envisages complete rationalisation. It is not true to say that Marxism *repudiates* "natural law". The entire phrase, "complete rationalisation", is false and meaningless; it is all a shoddy evasion, a stupid game in pursuit of a single purpose: to evade an issue that has been clearly and precisely formulated by scientific socialism; to stun young students with claptrap about socialism being impracticable.

IX

The bulk of Mr. Struve's treatise, much more than a half, is devoted to "sketches and materials on the historical phenomenology of price".

This is where our ardent advocate of "consistent empiricism", who declares value to be a phantom and has studied *prices* as facts, can really show his mettle!

Price statistics in the last few years have made great advances. An enormous amount of material has been collected in all countries. Quite a few books have been published on the history of prices. If our strict scholar does not even condescend to refute Marx's theory of value, why could he not at least analyse some of the fundamental problems of this theory with the aid of the "empirical" material furnished by the history and statistics of prices? Thousands of commodities and hundreds of sections or periods of the history of their prices can be found, where the influence of all extraneous factors can be eliminated—with the exception of the labour "*factor*"—and where precise data is available on the amount of labour consumed in the production of a given commodity. Why could not our advocate of "consistent empiricism", in a work of "scientific research" on prices, even *touch upon* these data in the section dealing with the "historical phenomenology of price"?

Why? Obviously because Mr. Struve was only too well aware of the hopelessness of his case, of the impossibility of refuting the theory of objective, labour value, and instinctively felt that he must *steer clear* of all scientific research.

The hundreds of pages of Mr. Struve's treatise devoted to "sketches and materials on the historical phenomenology of price" are an exceptionally remarkable illustration of

how present-day bourgeois scientists steer clear of science. What will you not find in these pages! Comments on fixed and free prices; several observations on the Polynesians; excerpts from the market regulations issued by (ah, what erudition!) King Andrianampoinimerina, unifier of Madagascar, in 178?-1810; several clauses of the Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon (about 2100 B. C.) concerning a surgeon's fee for performing an operation; several passages, mostly in Latin and highly scholarly, concerning the scheduling of the purchase price of women in ancient German codes; the translation of seven passages referring to commercial law from the works of the holy lawgivers of India, Manu and Yajna Valmiki*; the protection of purchasers in Roman law, and so on and, so forth, right up to Hellenic examples of the police regulation of prices in Rome and the Christianisation of Roman police law in the legislation of the Carolings.

We may expect that Mr. V. P. Ryabushinsky, who published Mr. Struve's treatise, will immortalise his own fame as a patron and the fame of Mr. Struve as a serious scholar, by publishing another hundred or so of volumes of sketches and materials on the historical methodology of prices describing, let us say, the bazaars of all times and all nations, with illustrations in the text and with comments by Mr. Struve wrenched from the best German bibliographies. Consistent empiricism will triumph, while the phantoms of various "laws" of political economy will vanish like smoke.

X

In the old pre-revolutionary Russia, scholars and scientists were divided into two big camps: those who made up to the government, and those who were independent; by the former were meant hired hacks and those who wrote to order.

This crude division, which corresponded to patriarchal, semi-Asiatic relations, is undoubtedly now obsolete and

* Mr. S. F. Oldenburg, politely replying to Mr. Struve's enquiry writes that "the law books on the questions that you [Mr. Struve] touch upon evidently closely reflect actual life". (Footnote 51b, §8, Subsection II, Chapter 2, Section II, Part I of Mr. Struve's work.)

should be relegated to the archives. Russia is rapidly becoming Europeanised. Our bourgeoisie is almost quite mature, and in some ways overripe. Its scholars and scientists are "independent" of the government; they are incapable of writing to order; they earnestly and conscientiously study problems from a point of view and by methods which they sincerely and conscientiously believe to coincide with the interests of "captains" of our commerce and industry like Mr. V. P. Ryabushinsky. To earn the reputation of a serious scientist or scholar and to obtain official recognition of one's works in our times, when such advances have been made in everything, one must prove with the aid of a couple of "Kantian-style" definitions that socialism is impracticable; one must demolish Marxism by explaining to one's readers and listeners that it is not worth refuting, and by quoting a thousand names and titles of books by European professors; one must throw by the board all scientific laws in general, to make room for religious laws; one must pile up a mountain of highly scientific lumber and rubbish with which to stuff the heads of young students.

It does not matter if the result is far more crude than that coming from the bourgeois scientists and scholars of Germany. The important thing is that Russia, after all, has definitely taken the path of Europeanisation.

FORMS OF THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT[104]

(THE LOCKOUT AND MARXIST TACTICS)

Lockouts, i.e., the mass discharge of workers by common agreement among employers, is as necessary and inevitable a phenomenon in capitalist society as strikes are. Capital, which throws the whole of its crushing weight upon the ruined small producers and the proletariat, constantly threatens to force the conditions of the workers down to starvation level and condemn them to death from starvation. And in all countries there have been cases, even whole periods in the life of nations, when the failure of the workers to fight back has led to their being reduced to incredible poverty and all the horrors of starvation.

The workers' resistance springs from their very conditions of life—the sale of labour-power. Only as a result of this resistance, despite the tremendous sacrifices the workers have to make in the struggle, are they able to maintain anything like a tolerable standard of living. But capital is becoming more and more concentrated, manufacturers' associations are growing, the number of destitute and unemployed people is increasing, and so also is want among the proletariat; consequently, it is becoming harder than ever to fight for a decent standard of living. The cost of living, which has been rising rapidly in recent years, often nullifies all the workers' efforts.

By drawing larger and larger masses of the proletariat into the organised struggle, the workers' organisations, and first and foremost the trade unions, make the workers' resistance more planned and systematic. With the existence of mass trade unions of different types, strikes become more stubborn: they occur less often, but each conflict is of bigger dimensions.

Lockouts are caused by a sharpening of the struggle, and in their turn, sharpen that struggle. Rallying in the struggle and developing its class-consciousness, its organisation and experience in that struggle, the proletariat becomes more and more firmly convinced that the complete economic reconstruction of capitalist society is essential.

Marxist tactics consist in combining the *different* forms of struggle, in the skilful transition from one form to another, in steadily enhancing the consciousness of the masses and extending the area of their collective actions, each of which, taken separately, may be aggressive or defensive, and all of which, taken together, lead to a more intense and decisive conflict.

Russia lacks the fundamental conditions for *such* a development of the struggle as we see in the West-European countries, namely, a struggle waged through the medium of firmly established and systematically developing trade unions.

Unlike Europe, which has enjoyed political freedom for a long time, the strike movement in Russia in 1912-14 extended beyond the narrow trade union limits. The liberals *denied* this, while the liberal-labour politicians (liquidators) failed to understand it, or shut their eyes to it. But the fact compelled them to admit it. In Milyukov's Duma speech during the interpellation on the Lena events, this *forced*, belated, half-hearted, platonic (i.e., accompanied, not by effective assistance, but only by sighs) admission of the *general* significance of the working-class movement was quite definite. By their liberal talk about the "strike craze" and their *opposition* to combining economic and other motives in the strike movement (we would remind our readers that Messrs. Yezhov and Co. began to talk *in this fashion* in 1912!) the liquidators aroused the legitimate disgust of the workers. That is why the workers firmly and deliberately had the liquidators "removed from office" in the working-class movement.

The Marxists' attitude towards the strike movement caused no wavering or dissatisfaction among the workers. Moreover, the significance of lockouts was formally and officially appraised by the organised Marxists *as far back*

as February 1913[105] (true, in an arena which the liquidators, those slaves of the liberals, do not see). Already in February 1913 the formal decision of the Marxists definitely and clearly spoke of lockouts and the necessity of *taking them into account* in our tactics. How are they to be taken into account? By going more carefully into the expediency of any given action, by changing the form of struggle, substituting (it was precisely substitution that was proposed!) one form for another, the general tendency being to *rise to higher* forms. The class-conscious workers are well acquainted with certain concrete cases when the movement rose to higher forms which were historically subjected to repeated test, and which are "unintelligible" and "alien" only to the liquidators.

On March 21, immediately after the lockout was declared, the Pravdists issued their clear-cut slogan: *Do not* let the employers choose for us the time and form of action; do not go on strike now! The labour unions and the organised Marxists knew and saw that this slogan was *their own*, drawn up by that same majority of the advanced proletariat which had secured the election of its representatives to the Insurance Board,[106] and which is guiding *all* the activities of the St. Petersburg workers *in the face* of the disruptive and liberal outcries of the liquidators.

The slogan of March 21—do not go on strike now—was the slogan of the workers, who knew that they would be able to *substitute* one form for another, that they were striving and would continue to strive—through the constantly changing forms of the movement—for a general rise to a higher level.

The workers knew that the disrupters of the working-class movement—the liquidators and the Narodniks—would try to disrupt the workers' cause in this case, too, and they were prepared in advance to offer resistance.

On March 26, both the liquidator and Narodnik groups of disrupters and violators of the will of the *majority* of the class-conscious workers of St. Petersburg and of Russia, published in their newspapers the bourgeois banalities that are common to these camps. The Narodniks (to the delight of the liquidators) chattered about "thoughtlessness" (the class-conscious workers have long been aware that nobody

is so thoughtless as the Narodniks), while the liquidators delivered liberal speeches (already analysed and condemned in *Put Pravdy* No. 47) and urged that instead of strikes the workers should resort to ... no, not the corresponding higher forms, but to ... petitions and "resolutions"!

Brushing aside this shameful liberal advice of the liquidators, and brushing aside the thoughtless chatter of the Narodniks, the advanced workers firmly proceeded along their own road.

The old decision, which called, in *certain* cases of lockouts, for strikes to be superseded by *certain* higher forms of struggle corresponding to them, was well known to the workers and correctly applied by them.

The employers failed to achieve the provocative purpose of their lockout. The workers did not accept battle on the ground chosen by their enemies; in due time, the workers applied the decision of the organised Marxists and, with greater energy and more demonstratively, conscious of the importance of their movement, continue to march along the old road.

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THE LEFT NARODNIKS WHITEWASH THE BOURGEOISIE

As soon as the Left-Narodnik gentry pass from empty and general phrases about the "labouring peasantry"—phrases that have been worked to death and reveal ignorance of both *The Communist Manifesto* and of *Capital*—to *precise figures*, we immediately see how the Left Narodniks whitewash the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois character of the entire "labouring peasantry" theory is disguised behind catch-phrases and exclamations, but it is exposed by facts and by a study of Marx's theory.

Thus, in *Stoikaya Mysl* No. 14, a certain Mr. Batrak,[107] who writes in an extremely highbrow style, discusses "socialism and the peasantry".

"*The number of labour economies is growing*," Mr. Batrak declares, and goes on to quote French and German statistics. Statistics are not the sort of thing that can be dismissed with catch-phrases or exclamations, and deception is very quickly exposed.

In France, the total area of "small farms", i.e., those of *five to ten hectares* (a hectare is slightly less than a dessiatine) has increased.

Very good, Mr. Batrak! But have you not heard that the more intensive farming is, the more often one meets with the employment of *wage-labour* on "*small*" (in area) farms? Does not this hushing up of the facts about the employment of wage-labour mean whitewashing the bourgeoisie, Mr. Batrak?

Let us take the German figures. Out of 652,798 farms of five to ten hectares, 487,704 employ *hired labourers*. What do you say to that? Most small farmers exploit wage-workers! And in France? In France, vinegrowing, which

entails the employment of *wage-labour* on small holdings, is far more widespread than in Germany

The "labour economy" theory is one that deceives the workers by hushing up the facts about the employment of wage-labour.

Mr. Batrak takes Germany. The "small and medium" farms go as "labour" economies (the tongue is so flexible it can call anybody a "labouring" farmer!). And so, from the fact that the number of "small" and "medium" farms is growing Mr. Batrak infers that the number of "labour" economies is growing.

But consider the figures quoted by this new champion of the bourgeoisie.

He starts with farms of *up to* two hectares. They constituted 58.3 per cent in 1882, 58.22 per cent in 1895 and 58.89 per cent in 1907. An increase, is it not?

But our "Left Narodnik" *has hushed up the fact that this is an increase in the number of wage-workers*!

The figures he distorts state definitely that of the 3,378,509 farmers who own farms of up to two hectares (1907), *only* 474,915, i.e., a little over $\frac{1}{10}$ (one-tenth), are independent farmers whose chief occupation is agriculture. *Most of them are wage-labourers* (1,822,792).

Of the 3,378,509 farms, 2,920,119, i.e., the vast majority, are *subsidiary* undertakings where farming does *not* provide the main earnings.

One may ask: Is not passing off *farm-hands and day-labourers*, wage-workers, as "labouring farmers" a whitewashing of the bourgeoisie and capitalism?

Does not the silly catch-phrase of "labouring farmers" serve here to *conceal* the gulf between the proletariat (the wage-workers) and the bourgeoisie? Does not this catch-phrase serve as a means of putting over bourgeois theories?

To proceed. Farms from two to five hectares. These constituted 18.60 per cent in 1882, 18.29 per cent in 1895 and 17.57 per cent in 1907. This is what Mr. Batrak writes.

What is his deduction? On that point he is *silent*.

The deduction is: a *decrease*, not growth. It is precisely in this group of farms, and only in this group, that *employers of labour* (people who buy the labour of private individuals)

and those who *hire themselves out* do not quite preponderate. The number of farmers who hire labour is 411,311 (counting the number of hired labourers) while the number of those who hire themselves out is 104,251 (the latter is not the total number; here the statistics are incomplete). Together, we get a total of 515,000, and the total number of these peasant farms is 1,006,277, so that even here more than half either hire themselves out or employ labourers!

The nice little catch-phrase of "labour economy serves to deceive the workers by *withholding* the facts about the *buying and selling of labour-power*.

Mr. Batrak then takes farms of five to twenty hectares, and shows that their number is increasing.

But what about the employment of wage-labour? Not a word, not a sound about that. The theoreticians of labour economy" have been commissioned by the bourgeoisie to conceal the figures about the employment of wage-labour.

We shall take these figures: 652,798 farms (1907) of five to ten hectares employ 487,704 wage-labourers, i.e., more than half exploit wage-labour.

A total of 412,741 farms of ten to twenty hectares employ 711,867 wage-labourers, *i.e.*, *all*, *or nearly all*, *exploit wage-labour*.

What should we call a man who poses as a "socialist" and yet classifies *exploiters of wage-labour* as "labouring farmers"?

As the Marxists have more than once explained, the Left Narodniks are petty bourgeois, who whitewash the bourgeoisie and obscure the fact that it exploits wage-labour.

We shall return to the bourgeois theories of the Left Narodniks, and particularly to Mr. Batrak's theories, on a future occasion. At present we shall briefly sum up.

The "labour economy" theory is a bourgeois deception of the workers, based, among other things, on the *concealment* of the figures concerning the buying and selling of labour-power.

As a matter of fact, the vast majority of the "small and medium" peasants to whom the Left Narodniks are fond of referring without discrimination, either sell or buy labour-power, either hire themselves out or hire labour. That is the *crux of the matter*, which the bourgeois "labour economy" theory obscures.

The proletarian says to the small peasant: you are a semi-proletarian, so *follow the lead* of the workers; it is your only salvation.

The bourgeois says to the small peasant: you are a small proprietor, a "labouring farmer". Labour economy "grows" under capitalism as well. You should be with the proprietors, not with the proletariat.

The small proprietor has two souls: one is a proletarian and the other a "proprietory" soul.

The Left Narodniks are, *in effect*; repeating the theories of the bourgeoisie and *corrupting* the small peasants with "proprietory" illusions. That is why the Marxists relentlessly combat this bourgeois corruption of the small peasants (and backward workers) by the Left Narodniks.

Put Pravdy No. 56,
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ON THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL POLICY[108]

I wish to deal with our government's policy on the national question. This is one of the most important of the questions that come within the jurisdiction of our Ministry of the Interior. Since the time the Duma last discussed the estimates of this Ministry, our ruling classes have been bringing the national question in Russia into the forefront and rendering it more and more acute.

The Beilis case attracted the repeated attention of the whole civilised world to Russia and exposed the disgraceful state of affairs in this country. There is not a vestige of legality in Russia. The Administration and the police are given a free hand in their wanton and shameless persecution of the Jews, even to the extent of covering up and condoning crimes. This precisely was the upshot of the Beilis case, which revealed the closest and most intimate connection....*

To show that I am not exaggerating when I speak of the pogrom atmosphere Russia is breathing, I can quote the evidence of that most "reliable", most conservative writer, Prince Meshchersky, the "minister-maker". Here is the opinion of "a Russian from Kiev", published in Prince Meshchersky's journal, *Grazhdanin*.[109]

> "The atmosphere in which we are living is suffocating; wherever you go there is whispering, plotting; everywhere there is blood lust, everywhere the stench of the informer, everywhere hatred, everywhere mutterings, everywhere groans...."*

the political atmosphere which Russia is breathing. To talk or think about law, legality, a constitution, and similar liberal naïveties in such an atmosphere is simply ridiculous, or rather, it would be ridiculous, were it not so ... serious!

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* The next page of this manuscript is missing.—*Ed.*

This atmosphere is felt day in day out by every person in the country who is at all intelligent and observant. But not everyone has the courage to admit the *significance* of this pogrom atmosphere. Why does such an atmosphere reign in our country? Why is it *able* to reign? Only because the country is actually in a state of scarcely concealed *civil war*. Some find it very unpleasant to admit this truth; they would put a cloak over it. Our liberals, both the Progressists[110] and the Cadets, are particularly fond of stitching such a cloak out of patches of almost quite "constitutional" theories. But I permit myself to consider that there is nothing more harmful, nothing more criminal than for representatives of the people to spread edifying deception from the rostrum of the Duma.

The government's entire policy towards the Jews and other "subject peoples"—pardon me for using this "government" expression—will at once become clear, natural and inevitable if we face the truth and admit the undoubted fact that the country is in a state of scarcely concealed civil war. The government is not ruling, but is waging war.

It chooses "genuinely Russian", pogrom methods of warfare because *it has no others at its disposal*. Everybody defends himself the best he can. Purishkevich and his friends cannot defend themselves otherwise than by pursuing a "pogrom" policy; for *they* have no other means. It is no use sighing; it is absurd to try to make shift with talk about a constitution, or law, or the system of administration; here it is simply a matter of the *class* interests of Purishkevich and Co., a matter of the difficult position this class is in.

Either settle accounts with this class resolutely and not merely in word, or else admit that the "pogrom" atmosphere is inevitable and inescapable in the entire policy of Russia. Either resign yourselves to this policy, or else support the popular, mass, and, in the first place, the proletarian movement against it. These are the only alternatives. There can be no middle course here.

In Russia, even according to official, i.e., palpably exaggerated statistics, which are faked to suit the "government's plans", the Great Russians constitute no more than 43 per cent of the entire population of the country. The

Great Russians in Russia constitute *less* than half the population. Officially, according to Stolypin "*himself*", even the Little Russians, or Ukrainians, are classed as a "*subject people*". Consequently, the "subject peoples" in Russia constitute 57 per cent of the population, i.e., the majority of the population, almost three-fifths, in all probability actually more than three-fifths. In the Duma I represent Ekaterinoslav Gubernia, the overwhelming majority of whose population are Ukrainians. The ban on the celebrations in honour of Shevchenko[111] was such an excellent, splendid, exceptionally happy and well-chosen measure as far as anti-government agitation is concerned, that no better agitation could be conceived. I think that none of our best Social-Democratic agitators against the government could ever have achieved such sensational success in so short a time as was achieved by this measure in rousing opposition to the government. After this measure was taken, millions upon millions of ordinary people began to be converted into public-minded citizens and were made to see the truth of the saying that Russia is "a prison of nations".

Our parties of the right and our nationalists are now clamouring so vehemently against the "Mazeppists" and our famous Bobrinsky is defending the Ukrainians from the oppression of the *Austrian* Government with such splendid, democratic zeal, that one would think he wanted to join the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. But if by "Mazeppism" is meant gravitation towards Austria and preference for the Austrian political system, then perhaps Bobrinsky will not be one of the least prominent of the "Mazeppists", for he complains and rants about the oppression of the Ukrainians in Austria! Just think how hard it must be for a Russian Ukrainian; for instance for an inhabitant of Ekaterinoslav Gubernia which I represent, to read or hear this! If Bobrinsky "himself", if the nationalist Bobrinsky, if Count Bobrinsky, if squire Bobrinsky, if factory owner Bobrinsky, if Bobrinsky who has links with the highest nobility (almost with the "spheres") thinks that the status of the national minorities is unjust and oppressive in Austria, where there is nothing like the disgraceful Jewish Pale of Settlement, or the despicable practice of deporting Jews at the whim of

despotic governors, or the prohibition of the native language in schools, then what should be said about the Ukrainians in Russia? What should be said about the other "subject peoples" in Russia?

Do not Bobrinsky and the other nationalists, as well as the Rights, realise that they are bringing home to the subject peoples" in Russia, that is, to three-fifths of the population of Russia, the fact that Russia is a *backward* country *even* compared with Austria, which is the most backward of European countries?

The whole point is that the position of Russia, which is governed by the Purishkeviches, or rather, groaning under the heel of the Purishkeviches, is so peculiar that the utterances of the nationalist Bobrinsky admirably explain and foment Social-Democratic agitation.

Keep it up, noble factory owner and landlord Bobrinsky; you will certainly help us to arouse, enlighten and stir up both the Austrian and the Russian Ukrainians! In Ekaterinoslav I heard several Ukrainians say that they wanted to send Count Bobrinsky an address of thanks for his successful propaganda in favour of the Ukraine's secession from Russia. I was not surprised to hear this. I saw propaganda leaflets, on one side of which was the Ukase banning the Shevchenko celebrations while on the other side were excerpts from Bobrinsky's eloquent speeches *in favour* of the Ukrainians.... I advised sending these leaflets to Bobrinsky, Purishkevich and *other* Ministers.

But if Purishkevich and Bobrinsky are superlative agitators in favour of transforming Russia into a democratic republic, our liberals, including the Cadets, are trying to conceal from the people *their agreement* with the Purishkeviches on certain fundamental questions of national policy. I would not be fulfilling my duty if, in speaking on the estimates of the Ministry of the Interior, which is pursuing a national policy everybody is aware of, I did not mention this *agreement* of the Constitutional-Democratic Party with the Ministry of the Interior's principles.

Indeed, is it not clear that anybody who wishes to be putting it mildly—in "opposition" to the Ministry of the Interior must also know the *ideological* allies of this Ministry in the Cadet camp.

According to a *Rech* report, the Constitutional-Democratic Party, or the "party of people's freedom", held its regular conference in St. Petersburg on March 23 to 25 of this year.

"National questions," says *Rech* (No. 83), "were discussed... in a most lively manner. The deputies from Kiev, who were supported by N. V. Nekrasov and A. M. Kolyubakin, stated that the national question was a maturing major factor which had to be met more firmly than it had been up to now. But F. F. Kokoshkin said that both the programme and previous political experience called for very careful handling of the 'elastic formulas' of political self-determination for 'nationalities'."

This is *Rech*'s version of the matter. And although this version is deliberately worded to keep the greatest numbers of readers *in the dark*, the gist of the matter is nevertheless clear to every observant and thinking person. *Kievskaya Mysl*,[112] which sympathises with the Cadets and voices their views, reports Kokoshkin's speech with the addition of the following comment: "Because it may lead to the disintegration of the state."

This, undoubtedly, was the gist of Kokoshkin's speech. Among the Cadets, Kokoshkin's point of view prevailed even over the extremely timid democratism of the Nekrasovs and Kolyubakins. Kokoshkin's point of view is that of the *Great-Russian* liberal-bourgeois nationalist who defends the privileges of the *Great Russian* (although they are a minority in Russia), and defends them *hand in hand* with the Ministry of the Interior. Kokoshkin "theoretically" defended the policy of the Ministry of the Interior—that is the gist, the core, of the matter.

"More careful handling of political self-determination" of nations! Care must be taken that it does not "lead to the disintegration of the state"!—that is the *substance* of Kokoshkin's national policy, which *fully coincides* with the main line of policy pursued by the Ministry of the Interior. But Kokoshkin and the other Cadet leaders are not infants. They are perfectly familiar with the saying: "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the sabbath." The state exists for the people, not the people for the state. Kokoshkin and the other Cadet leaders are not

infants. They know perfectly well that in our country the state is (in effect) the Purishkevich class. The integrity of the state is the integrity of the Purishkevich class. If one looks at the *essence* of their policy, stripped of its diplomatic trappings, one will realise what the Kokoshkins are concerned about.

For the sake of illustration I shall quote the following simple example. In 1905, as you know, Norway seceded from Sweden in face of vehement protests from the Swedish landlords, who threatened to go to war against Norway. Fortunately, the feudalists in Sweden are not all-powerful as they are in Russia, and there was no war. Norway, with a minority of the population, seceded from Sweden in a peaceful, democratic, and civilised way, not in the way the feudalists and the militarist party wanted. What happened? Did the people lose by it? Did the interests of civilisation or the interests of democracy, or the interests of the working class, suffer as a result of this secession?

Not in the least! Both Norway and Sweden are countries that are far more civilised than Russia is—incidentally, *precisely because* they succeeded in applying in a democratic manner the formula of the "political self-determination" of nations. The breaking of *compulsory* ties *strengthened* voluntary economic ties, strengthened cultural intimacy, and mutual respect between these two nations, which are so close to each other in language and other things. The common interests, the closeness of the Swedish and Norwegian peoples actually *gained* from the secession, for secession meant the rupture of *compulsory* ties.

I hope that this example has made it clear that Kokoshkin and the Constitutional-Democratic Party take their stand entirely with the Ministry of the Interior when they try to scare us with the prospect of the "disintegration of the state" and urge us to be "careful in handling" an absolutely clear formula, which is accepted without question by the entire international democracy—the "political self-determination" of nationalities. We Social-Democrats are opposed to *all* nationalism and advocate democratic *centralism*. We are opposed to particularism, and are convinced that, *all other things being equal*, big states can solve the problems of economic progress and of the struggle between the

proletariat and the bourgeoisie far more effectively than small states can. But we value only voluntary ties, never compulsory ties. Wherever we see *compulsory* ties between nations we, while by no means insisting that every nation must secede, do *absolutely* and emphatically insist on the *right* of every nation to political self-determination, that is, to secession.

To insist upon, to advocate, and to recognise this *right* is to insist on the equality of nations, to refuse to recognise *compulsory* ties, to oppose all state privileges for any nation whatsoever, and to cultivate a spirit of complete class solidarity in the workers of the different nations.

The class solidarity of the workers of the different nations is strengthened by the substitution of voluntary ties for compulsory, feudalist and militarist ties.

We value most of all the equality of nations in popular liberties and for socialism....*

and insist on the privileges of the Great Russians. But we say: no privileges *for any* one nation, complete equality of nations and the unity, amalgamation of the workers of *all nations*.

Eighteen years ago, in 1896, the International Congress of Labour and Socialist Organisations in London adopted a resolution on the national question, which indicated the only correct way to work for both real popular liberties and socialism. The resolution reads:

"This Congress declares that it stands for the full right of all nations to self-determination, and expresses its sympathy for the workers of every country now suffering under the yoke of military, national or other absolutism. This Congress calls upon the workers of all these countries to join the ranks of the class-conscious workers of the whole world in order jointly to fight for the defeat of international capitalism and for the achievement of the aims of international Social-Democracy."

And we, too, call for unity in the ranks of the workers of all nations in Russia, for only such unity can guarantee the equality of nations and popular liberties, and safeguard the interests of socialism.

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* The next two pages of this manuscript are missing.—*Ed.*

The year 1905 united the workers of all nations in Russia. The reactionaries are trying to foment national enmity. The liberal bourgeoisie of *all* nations, first and foremost the Great-Russian bourgeoisie, is fighting for the privileges of *its own* nation (for example, the Polish koło[113] is opposed to equal rights for Jews in Poland), is fighting for national segregation, for national exclusiveness, and is thereby *promoting* the policy of our Ministry of the Interior.

But true democracy, headed by the working class, holds aloft the banner of complete equality of nations and of unity of the workers of all nations in their class struggle. From this point of view we reject so-called "cultural-national autonomy", that is, the division of educational affairs in a given state according to nationality, or the proposal that education should be taken out of the hands of the state and transferred to separately organised national associations. A democratic state must grant autonomy to its various regions, especially to regions with mixed populations. This form of autonomy in no way contradicts democratic centralism; on the contrary, it is only through regional autonomy that genuine democratic centralism is *possible* in a large state with a mixed population. A democratic state is bound to grant *complete freedom* for the various languages and annul *all* privileges for any one language. A democratic state will not permit the oppression or the overriding of any one nationality by another, either in any particular region or in any branch of public affairs.

But to take education out of the hands of the state and to divide it according to nationality among separately organised national associations is harmful from the point of view of democracy, and still more harmful from the point of view of the proletariat. This would merely serve to perpetuate the segregation of nations, whereas we must strive to unite them. It would lead to the growth of chauvinism, whereas we must strive to unite the workers of all nations as closely as possible, strive to unite them for a joint struggle against *all* chauvinism, against *all* national exclusiveness, against *all* nationalism. The workers of all nations have but one educational policy: freedom for the native language, and democratic and *secular* education.

I conclude by expressing my gratitude once again to Purishkevich, Markov II and Bobrinsky for their effective agitation against the entire political system in Russia, for the *object-lessons* they have given, which prove that Russia's transformation into a democratic republic is inevitable.

Written later than April 6 (19), 1914

Published according to the manuscript

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CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IN BRITAIN

Dealing in *Put Pravdy* No. 34 with the interesting events in Ireland, we spoke of the policy of the British Liberals, who allowed themselves to be scared by the Conservatives.*

Since those lines were written, new events have occurred which have transformed that particular conflict (between the Liberals and Conservatives) over the question of Home Rule for Ireland into a general constitutional crisis in Britain.

As the Conservatives threatened a Protestant "rebellion" in Ulster against Home Rule for Ireland, the Liberal Government set part of its troops into motion in order to compel respect for the will of Parliament.

But what happened?

Generals and other British Army officers mutinied!

They declared that they would not fight against Protestant Ulster as that would run counter to their "patriotism", and that they would resign.

The Liberal Government were absolutely stunned by this revolt of the landowners standing at the head of the army. The Liberals have been accustomed to console themselves with constitutional illusions and phrases about the rule of law, and close their eyes to the real relation of forces, to the class struggle. And this real relation of forces has been such that, owing to the cowardice of the bourgeoisie, a number of *pre*-bourgeois, medieval institutions and privileges of the landed gentry have been preserved in Britain.

To suppress the revolt of the aristocratic officers, the Liberal Government should have appealed to the people, to the masses, to the proletariat, but that was something the

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* See pp. 148-51 of this volume.—*Ed.*

"enlightened" Liberal bourgeois gentlemen feared more than anything else. The government *actually made concessions* to the mutinous officers, persuaded them to withdraw their resignations, and gave them *written assurances* that troops would not be used against Ulster.

Efforts were made to conceal from the people the disgraceful fact that such written assurances had been given (March 21, new style), and the Liberal leaders, Asquith, Morley and others, lied in the most incredible and shameless manner in their official statements. However, the truth came out. The fact that written promises had been given to the officers was not denied. Apparently, "pressure" was brought to bear by the King. The resignation of Secretary for War Seely, the assumption of his portfolio by Asquith "himself", the re-election of Asquith, the circular to the troops about respect for law—all this was nothing but sheer official hypocrisy. The fact remains that the Liberals yielded to the landowners, who had flouted the constitution.

Stormy scenes ensued in Parliament. The Conservatives heaped well-deserved ridicule and scorn upon the Liberal Government, while the Labour M. P., Ramsay MacDonald, one of the most moderate of the liberal-labour politicians, protested in the strongest terms against the reactionaries' conduct. He said that these people were always ready to fulminate against strikers, but when it came to Ulster they refused to do their duty because the Irish Home Rule Bill affected their class prejudices and interests. (The landowners in Ireland are English, and Home Rule for Ireland, which would mean Home Rule for the Irish bourgeoisie and peasants, threatens to somewhat curtail the voracious appetites of the noble lords.) These people, Ramsay MacDonald continued, thought only of fighting the workers, but when it came to compelling the rich and the property-owners to respect the law, they refused to do their duty.

This revolt of the landowners against the British Parliament, the "all-powerful" Parliament (as the Liberal dullards, especially the Liberal pundits, have thought and said millions of times), is of tremendous significance. March 21 (March 8, old style), 1914, will be an epoch-making turning-point, the day when the noble landowners of Britain

tore the British constitution and British law to shreds and gave an excellent lesson of the class struggle.

This lesson stemmed from the impossibility of blunting the sharp antagonisms between the proletariat and bourgeoisie of Britain by means of the half-hearted, hypocritical, sham-reformist policy of the Liberals. This lesson will not be lost upon the British labour movement; the working class will now quickly proceed to shake off its philistine faith in the scrap of paper called the British law and constitution, which the British aristocrats have torn up before the eyes of the whole people.

These aristocrats behaved like revolutionaries *of the right* and thereby shattered all conventions, tore aside the veil that prevented the people from seeing the unpleasant but undoubtedly real class struggle. All saw what the bourgeoisie and the Liberals have been hypocritically concealing (they are hypocrites everywhere, but nowhere, perhaps, such consummate hypocrites as in Britain). All saw that the conspiracy to break the will of Parliament had been prepared long ago. Real class rule lay and still lies *outside* of Parliament. The above-mentioned medieval institutions, which for long had been inoperative (or rather seemed to be inoperative), quickly came into operation and proved to be *stronger* than Parliament. And Britain's petty-bourgeois Liberals, with their speeches about reforms and the might of Parliament designed to lull the workers, proved in fact to be straw men, dummies, put up to bamboozle the people. They were quickly "*shut up*" by the aristocracy, the men in *power*.

How many books have been written, especially by German and Russian liberals, in praise of law and social peace in Britain! Everybody knows that the historical mission of the German and Russian liberals is to show servile admiration for what the class struggle has produced in Britain and in France, and to proclaim the results of that struggle as the "truths of science", a science that stands "*above classes*". In reality, however, "law and social peace" in Britain were merely a brief result of the torpor the British proletariat was in approximately between the 1850's and 1900's.

Britain's monopoly has come to an end. World competition has sharpened. The cost of living has gone up. Associa-

tions of big capitalists have crushed the small and medium businessmen and come down with their full weight upon the workers. Once more the British proletariat has awakened after the close of the eighteenth century, after the Chartist movement of the 1830's and 1840's.

The constitutional crisis of 1914 will mark another important stage in the history of this awakening.

Put Pravdy No. 57,
April 10, 1914

Published according to
the text in *Put Pravdy*

UNITY

Three issues of the journal *Borba*, which declares itself to be "non-factional", have already appeared in St. Petersburg. The journal's main line is to advocate unity.

Unity with whom? *With the liquidators*.

The latest issue of *Borba* contains two articles in defence *of unity with the liquidators*.

The first article is by the well-known liquidator Y. Larin, the same Larin who recently wrote in one of the liquidationist journals:

> "The path of capitalist development will be cleared of absolutist survivals without any revolution.... The immediate talk is ... to imbue wide circles with the leading idea that in the coming period the working class must organise, not 'for revolution', not 'in anticipation of revolution'...."

Writing in *Borba*, this same liquidator now urges unity and proposes that it should take the form of *federation*.

Federation implies agreement between organisations enjoying equal rights. Thus, in the matter of determining the tactics of the working class, Larin proposes placing the will of the overwhelming majority of the workers, who stand for the "uncurtailed slogans", on an *equal* footing with the will of negligible groups of liquidators, whose views coincide more or less with the passage just quoted above. According to the subtle plan of the liquidator Larin, the majority of the workers are to be deprived of the right to take any step until they obtain the consent of the liquidators of *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*.

The workers have rejected the liquidators, but now, according to the plan of the liquidator Larin, the latter are to regain a leading position by means of federation. Thus, the federation proposed by Larin is simply a new

attempt to impose on the workers the will of the liquidators whom the working-class movement has rejected. The liquidators reason as follows: we were not allowed to come in by the door, so we will steal in by the window, and call "unity through federation" that which is actually a violation of the will of the majority of the workers.

The editors of Borba disagree with Larin. Federation, i.e., gradual agreement between the liquidators and the Marxists *as equal parties*, does not satisfy them.

It is not agreement with the liquidators they want but a new amalgamation with them "on the basis of common decisions on tactics", which means that the overwhelming majority of the workers, who have rallied to the tactical line of *Put Pravdy*, must *abandon* their own decisions for the sake of *common tactics with the liquidators*.

In the opinion of *Borba*'s editors, the tactics developed by the class-conscious workers, which have stood the test of experience of the entire movement during the past few years, must be set aside. Why? So as to make room for the tactical plans of the liquidators, for views that have been condemned both by the workers and by the whole course of events.

Utter defiance of the will, the decisions and the views of the class-conscious workers is at the bottom of the idea of unity with the liquidators which the editors of *Borba* propose.

The will of the workers has been clearly and definitely expressed. Anyone who has not taken leave of his senses can say exactly which tactics the overwhelming majority of the workers sympathise with. But along comes the liquidator Larin and says: the will of the majority of the workers is nothing to me. Let this majority get out of the way and agree that the will of a group of liquidators is equal to the will of the majority of the class-conscious workers.

After the liquidator comes a conciliator from *Borba*, who says: the workers have devised definite tactics for themselves and are striving to apply them? That means nothing at all. Let them abandon these tested tactics for the sake of *common tactical decisions with the liquidators*.

And the conciliators from *Borba* describe as *unity* this violation of the clearly expressed will of the majority of the

workers, a violation designed to secure equality for the liquidators.

This, however, is not unity, but a flouting of unity, a flouting of the will of the workers.

This is not what the Marxist workers mean by unity.

There can be no unity, federal or other, with liberal-labour politicians, with disruptors of the working-class movement, with those who defy the will of the majority. There can and must be unity among all consistent Marxists, among all those who stand for the entire Marxist body and for the uncurtailed slogans, independently of the liquidators and apart from them.

Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism.

And we must ask everyone who talks about unity: unity with whom? With the liquidators? If so, we have nothing to do with each other.

But if it is a question of genuine Marxist unity, we shall say: Ever since the Pravdist newspapers appeared we have been calling for the unity of all the forces of Marxism, for unity from below, for unity in practical activities.

No flirting with the liquidators, no diplomatic negotiations with groups of wreckers of the corporate body; concentrate all efforts on rallying the Marxist workers around the Marxist slogans, around the entire Marxist body. The class-conscious workers will regard as a crime any attempt to impose upon them the will of the liquidators; they will also regard as a crime the fragmentation of the forces of the genuine Marxists.

For the basis of unity is class discipline, recognition of the will of the majority, and concerted activities in the ranks of, and in step with, that majority. We shall never tire of calling all the workers towards this unity, this discipline, and these concerted activities.

Put Pravdy No. 59,
April 12, 1914

Published according to
the text in *Put Pravdy*

ORGANISED MARXISTS ON INTERVENTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU

We are informed that the International Bureau has received the reply of the organised Marxists to the Bureau's offer to intervene in the affairs of Russian Social-Democracy.[114] We publish below the more important parts of this reply.

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Following receipt of the "Supplement" to No. 11 of *The Periodical Bulletin of the International Bureau*, the representative body of Russia's organised Marxists feels bound to express profound gratitude to the International Bureau and its Executive Committee for their assistance to the working-class movement and for their efforts to strengthen and consolidate it by ensuring its unity.

The present situation among Russian Marxists is as follows.

The general state of affairs in 1907-08 led to an extremely grave ideological crisis among Marxists and the break-up of their organisations. Both in 1908 and in 1910, organised Marxists formally recognised the existence of a special theory advocated by the *liquidators*, who repudiated and sought to liquidate the old Party, and were out to form a new and legal party. This trend was emphatically and irrevocably condemned by a formal decision. However, the liquidators refused to accept these decisions and continued their splitting and disruptive activities against the "entire body".

In January 1912,[115] the entire Marxist body was *opposed* to the liquidators, who were declared to be outside its ranks.

Since then, the overwhelming majority of class-conscious workers in Russia have rallied in support of the decisions adopted in January 1912 and of the guiding body that was elected at the time. This fact, of which all workers in Russia are aware, can and must be corroborated by objective facts, in view of the incredible number of unsupported and grossly untrue statements circulated by the liquidators and by the scattered groups abroad.

1. The electoral law of Russia places the workers in a separate worker curia. Of the members of the Duma elected by this curia, the Bolsheviks constituted 47 per cent in the Second Duma (1907), 50 per cent in the Third Duma (1907-12), and 67 per cent in the Fourth Duma (1912-14).
The elections to the Fourth Duma were held in September 1912, and the majority that was gained (two-thirds) proved organised Marxism's complete victory over liquidationism.

2. In April 1912, the Marxist daily newspaper *Pravda* began to appear. In opposition to it, the liquidators started, also in St. Petersburg, a rival organ, *Luch*, which pursued splitting tactics. In the course of two years, from January 1, 1912 to January 1, 1914, the liquidators' newspaper, together with all their supporters in the shape of the numerous groups abroad and the Bund, received the backing—according to that newspaper's own reports—of *750* workers' groups, whereas during the same period *Pravda*, which fights for the Marxist line, rallied around itself *2,801* workers' groups.

3. Early in 1914, elections were held in St. Petersburg of representatives of the workers' sick insurance societies on the All-Russia Insurance Board and the Metropolitan Insurance Board. To the first body the workers elected five members and ten deputy-members; to the second, they elected two members and four deputy-members. In both cases, the *lists of candidates put forward by* Pravda *supporters were elected in their entirety*. In the last elections the ballot figures announced by the chairman were: *Pravda* supporters—*37*; liquidators—*7*; Narodniks—*4*; abstentions—*5*.

We shall confine ourselves to these very brief figures. They show that real unity among Marxists in Russia is making

steady headway and that the unity of the majority of the class-conscious workers on the basis of the decisions of January 1912 has already been achieved.

The document then goes on to describe the disruptive activities of the various groups abroad and the liquidators, who are persistently trying to *thwart the will* of the majority of Russian workers.

Besides partyists and liquidators, there are now no less than *five* separate *Russian* Social-Democratic groups operating abroad, besides the national groups. For two whole years, 1912 and 1913, there has not been a shadow of any objective evidence that these groups abroad are in touch with the working-class movement in Russia. In August 1912 the liquidators formed what is called the "August bloc", which included, among others, Trotsky, the "Bund", and the Lettish Social-Democrats. That this "bloc"—which really served as a screen for the liquidators—was a fiction, was pointed out long ago. Now this "bloc" has fallen completely apart. The Congress of the Lettish Social-Democrats, which was held in February 1914, decided to withdraw its representatives from the bloc because the latter had not dissociated itself from the liquidators. Trotsky, too, in February 1914, founded his own group's journal, in which he backed his *outcries* for unity by *breaking away* from the August bloc!

The "Organising Committee", which now represents the "August bloc", is a pure fiction, and it is obviously impossible to enter into any relations with that fiction. Since the liquidators talk about "unity" and "equality", it should be said that it is the prime duty of advocates of unity to refrain from throwing into disarray the ranks of the united overwhelming majority of the workers, and emphatically to repudiate the liquidators, who are out to destroy the entire Marxist body. Talk about "unity" coming from the liquidators is no less a mockery of the actual unity of the majority of the workers in Russia than similar talk about unity by the "Allemane-Cambier party" in France, or by the "P.P.S." in Germany.

The authors then go on urgently to request the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau to bend every effort to hasten the "interchange of opinion among all

the Social-Democratic groups on controversial issues" (resolution of the December 1913 session of the International Bureau), in order to expose to an impartial body, to the International, the utterly fictitious nature of the "August bloc" and of the liquidators' "Organising Committee", and also to expose all their disruptive activities against the united majority of the Social-Democratic workers of Russia.

Put Pravdy No. 61,
April 15, 1914

Published according to
the text in *Put Pravdy*

NATIONAL EQUALITY

In *Put Pravdy* No. 48 (for March 28), the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma published the text of its Bill on national equality, or, to quote its official title, "Bill for the Abolition of All Disabilities of the Jews and of All Restrictions on the Grounds of Origin or Nationality".*

Amidst the alarms and turmoil of the struggle for existence, for a bare livelihood, the Russian workers cannot and must not forget the yoke of national oppression under which the tens and tens of millions of "subject peoples" inhabiting Russia are groaning. The ruling nation—the Great Russians—constitute about 45 per cent of the total population of the Empire. Out of every 100 inhabitants, over 50 belong to "subject peoples".

And the conditions of life of this vast population are even harsher than those of the Russians.

The policy of oppressing nationalities is one of *dividing* nations. At the same time it is a policy of systematic *corruption* of the people's minds. The Black Hundreds' plans are designed to foment antagonism among the different nations, to poison the minds of the ignorant and downtrodden masses. Pick up any Black-Hundred newspaper and you will find that the persecution of non-Russians, the sowing of mutual distrust between the Russian peasant, the Russian petty bourgeois and the Russian artisan on the one hand, and the Jewish, Finnish, Polish, Georgian and Ukrainian peasants, petty bourgeois and artisans on the other, is meat and drink to the whole of this Black-Hundred gang.

But the working class needs *unity*, *not division*. It has no more bitter enemy than the savage prejudices and superstitions which its enemies sow among the ignorant masses,

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* See pp. 172-73 of this volume.—*Ed.*

The oppression of "subject peoples" is a double-edged weapon. It cuts both ways—against the "subject peoples" and against the Russian people.

That is why the working class must protest most strongly against national oppression in any shape and form.

It must counter the agitation of the Black Hundreds, who try to divert its attention to the baiting of non-Russians, by asserting its conviction as to the need for complete equality, for the complete and final rejection of all privileges for any one nation.

The Black Hundreds carry on a particularly venomous hate-campaign against the Jews. The Purishkeviches try to make the Jewish people the scapegoat for all their own sins.

And that is why the R.S.D.L. group in the Duma did right in putting *Jewish* disabilities in the forefront of its Bill.

The schools, the press, the parliamentary rostrum—everything is being used to sow ignorant, savage, and vicious hatred of the Jews.

This dirty and despicable work is undertaken, not only by the scum of the Black Hundreds, but also by reactionary professors, scholars, journalists and members of the Duma. Millions and thousands of millions of rubles are spent on poisoning the minds of the people.

It is a point of honour for the *Russian* workers to have this Bill against national oppression backed by tens of thousands of proletarian signatures and declarations.... This will be the best means of consolidating *complete* unity, amalgamating all the workers of Russia, irrespective of nationality.

Put Pravdy No. 62,
April 16, 1914

Published according to
the text in *Put Pravdy*

THE LIQUIDATORS AND THE LETTISH WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

The recent decision of all organised Lettish workers condemning the liquidators and supporting the Marxist line, struck a decisive blow at the "August bloc", by showing that sooner or later all proletarian elements will break with the liquidators. *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* is doing its utmost to explain away this unpleasant fact. This rather difficult job has been tackled by L. M. and F. D.

We shall not trouble to reply to the petty wrangling which the liquidators have started. The only aspect of the matter we consider important is that which has organisational and political significance.

The liquidators say: True, the Lettish Marxists have withdrawn from the "August bloc", but they have not joined the "Leninists".

Quite right, gentlemen! The Lettish Marxists have indeed remained *neutral*. In our very first articles concerning the Lettish decisions, we said that the Letts had taken *only the first step*, that, generally speaking, they had acted like *conciliators*.*

But have the liquidators considered what follows from this?

If the Letts are really conciliators, if they advocate unity at any price, and if they are neutral in the organisational conflict, then the political appraisal of liquidationism made by the conciliatory Lettish Marxists *is a still more telling blow at the liquidators*.

From the political aspect, this appraisal is quite clear and straightforward. The Lettish workers have emphatically endorsed the old decision that *liquidationism is a manifestation*

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* See pp. 177-81 of this volume.—*Ed*.

of bourgeois influence on the proletariat. They have declared that unity with the liquidators means becoming "ideologically and politically dependent upon the liquidators".

Yes, Messrs. L. M. and F. D., the Letts have indeed remained neutral; they have not yet abandoned "conciliatory" hopes; they have not yet drawn all the practical conclusions from the stand they took; they have given too lenient treatment to the groups which defend you. But it was precisely these lenient and neutral people who told you that your liquidationist line expressed only the influence of the *bourgeoisie* on the backward sections of the workers.

The ludicrous muddle the liquidators have got themselves into in appraising the Lettish decisions can be seen from the articles published in *Zeit*, a newspaper of the Jewish liquidators. Here Mr. Yonov tells us in verbose articles that "the Lettish comrades do not stand for a split; on the contrary, they strongly oppose such tactics".

The same writer goes on to say that "the general spirit of the resolution [of the Letts] is beyond all doubt the Leninist spirit. It [the resolution] is based on hostility towards liquidationism, on recognition of the need to combat it" (*Zeit* No. 14).

Agree among yourselves, liquidators, and say either one thing or the other.

The liquidators hope that the Letts will yet take a *step backward*—to liquidationism. We hope that they will take a step forward, to the position of the Russian Marxists. Time will show whose hopes will be justified. We calmly leave that to the course of the Lettish and of the entire Russian working-class movement. For the present, one thing has been achieved: the Letts have dealt mortal blow at the "August bloc" and recognised that liquidationism is a bourgeois trend.

A few words about the Letts' decision concerning the split in the Social-Democratic group in the Duma. The six liquidator deputies have not given a straightforward answer to the question as to whether they accept the terms of the Letts. With Mr. F. D.'s assistance, they are trying to "pull the wool over our eyes", as the saying goes. However, they will not succeed.

Look at Mr. F. D.'s "arguments". Confronted with the 1908 decision (which the Letts *endorsed*) against amalgamation with the Jagiello party, he replies by stating that the Social-Democratic group in the Second Duma accepted ... the Lithuanian Social-Democrats. The "slight" difference here is merely that Russia's Marxists resolved on more than one occasion to *amalgamate* with the Lithuanians, but *not to amalgamate* with the P.S.P., because that party is *not* Marxist. The difference is that the Lithuanian deputies were returned to the Duma with the full support of all the local Social-Democrats, whereas Jagiello was elected *in the teeth of opposition* from the Polish Social-Democrats, *in the teeth of opposition* from the majority of the worker electors.

The Letts made it a condition of unity that the all-Russia decisions of 1908 and 1910 condemning liquidationism as a *bourgeois* trend should be recognised. Does the Chkheidze group accept this condition? What has Mr. F. D., who defends this group, to say about this? Only that "lack of space prevents us [i.e., him] from dealing" with these all-Russia decisions.

Very well, we shall wait until *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* finds more space in which to say, at last, what its attitude is towards the 1908 and 1910 decisions of the entire Marxist body, which recognised liquidationism as a bourgeois trend.

As for the workers, they will undoubtedly draw their own conclusions from the liquidators' shuffling, and realise that these people are dead to the cause of Marxism.

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SERF ECONOMY IN THE RURAL AREAS

Our liberals refuse to admit that serf economy is still practised on a vast scale in the Russian countryside to this day. Serfdom lives on, for when the semi-pauper peasant, held in bondage by means of money loans or the renting of land, works for the landlord with his wretched horse and implements, we have here the economic essence of serf economy.

Under capitalism the worker owns neither land nor implements of production. Under serf economy the exploited labourer has both land and implements of production, but these serve to enslave him, to *tie* him to the "squire".

The journal *Russkaya Mysl*, which is noted for its preaching of *respect* for landed property, *accidentally blurted out* the truth in its March issue.

"Winter hiring,"[116] we read in that issue "—is this not absurd in our age, the age of electricity and aeroplanes? And yet this form of slavery and bondage continues to flourish to this day, like a leech on the body of the peasantry.

"Winter hiring is a curious and characteristic feature of ancient Russia. It has preserved in all its freshness the feudal term of 'bonded peasants'."

This was written not by some "Left" organ, but by a journal of the counter-revolutionary liberals!

According to local statistics for the spring of 1913, the "bonded" households sometimes—as, for example, in Chernigov Gubernia—constitute as much as 56 per cent, i.e., nearly *three-fifths*, of the total number of households. And during winter hire the peasant receives *half or one-third* of the pay he gets during summer hire.

Here we have purely serf bondage and hopeless poverty among the peasants, side by side with "progress" in the development of the *otrubs*, fodder grass cultivation, the employment of machines, and so forth, over which some naïve people wax so enthusiastic. As a matter of fact, this progress, perpetuating as it does appalling poverty and bondage among the masses of the peasants, only worsens their conditions, makes crises more inevitable, and intensifies the contradiction between the requirements of modern capitalism and barbarous, medieval and Asiatic "winter hiring".

Métayage, tilling the soil in return for half the crop, or mowing hay in return for every third haycock (the "one-third" system) are also direct survivals of serfdom. According to the latest statistics, the area of land cultivated by peasants on the métayer system in the various districts of Russia ranges from 21 to 68 per cent of the area of the peasants' own land. And the area of land on which hay is mown on the métayer system is even larger, ranging from 50 to 185 per cent of the area of the peasants' own land!...

"In some cases," we read in this moderate-liberal journal, "the métayer, in addition to paying for the land with half the crop, and for the hay with two-thirds of the crop, is obliged to *work gratis* on the owner's farm for one or two weeks, in most cases with his own horse, or with one of his children."

How does this differ from serfdom? The peasant works for the landlord without pay, and receives land from him on a métayage basis!

Our liberals always regard the "peasant question" from the point of view of the peasants' "land hunger" or the need for "state arrangement" of the peasants' living conditions, or of allotting them land according to this or that "norm" (this is a fault of the Narodniks, too). This point of view is basically erroneous. It is all a matter of the class struggle on the basis of the feudal relations of production, and nothing more. So long as the present system of landlordism exists, the perpetuation of bondage, serfdom and, as *Russkaya Mysl* expresses it, slavery, is *inevitable*. No "reforms" or political changes will be of any use here. The point at issue here is the ownership of the land by a class which

reduces all "progress" to snail's pace, and turns the masses of the peasantry into downtrodden paupers tied to the "squire".

The issue here is not that of a "subsistence" or a "producer's" norm (all this is Narodnik nonsense), not that of "land hunger", or "allotting land", but of abolishing class, semi-feudal oppression, which is hindering the development of a capitalist country. Only in this way can the "proverbial" "pillars" of the class-conscious Russian workers begin to be understood.

Put Pravdy No. 66,
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FROM THE HISTORY OF THE WORKERS' PRESS IN RUSSIA

The history of the workers' press in Russia is indissolubly linked up with the history of the democratic and socialist movement. Hence, only by knowing the chief stages of the movement for emancipation is it possible to understand why the preparation and rise of the workers' press proceeded in a certain way, and in no other.

The emancipation movement in Russia has passed through three main stages, corresponding to the three main classes of Russian society, which have left their impress on the movement: (1) the period of the nobility, roughly from 1825 to 1861; (2) the *raznochintsi* or bourgeois-democratic period, approximately from 1861 to 1895; and (3) the proletarian period, from 1895 to the present time.

The most outstanding figures of the nobility period were the Decembrists[117] and Herzen. At that time, under the serf-owning system, there could be no question of differentiating a working *class* from among the general mass of serfs, the disfranchised "lower orders", "the ruck". In those days the illegal general democratic press, headed by Herzen's *Kolokol*,[118] was the forerunner of the workers' (proletarian-democratic or Social-Democratic) press.

Just as the Decembrists roused Herzen, so Herzen and his *Kolokol* helped to rouse the *raznochintsi*—the educated representatives of the liberal and democratic bourgeoisie who belonged, not to the nobility but to the civil servants, urban petty bourgeois, merchant and peasant classes. It was V. G. Belinsky who, even before the abolition of serfdom, was a forerunner of the *raznochintsi* who were to

completely oust the nobility from our emancipation movement. The famous Letter to Gogol,[119] which summed up Belinsky's literary activities, was one of the finest productions of the illegal democratic press, which has to this day lost none of its great and vital significance.

With the fall of the serf-owning system, the *raznochintsi* emerged as the chief actor from among the masses in the movement for emancipation in general, and in the democratic illegal press in particular. Narodism,[120] which corresponded to the *raznochintsi* point of view, became the dominant trend. As a social trend, it never succeeded in dissociating itself from liberalism on the right and from anarchism on the left. But Chernyshevsky, who, after Herzen, developed the Narodnik views, made a great stride forward as compared with Herzen. Chernyshevsky was a far more consistent and militant democrat, his writings breathing the spirit of the class struggle. He resolutely pursued the line of exposing the treachery of liberalism, a line which to this day is hateful to the Cadets and liquidators. He was a remarkably profound critic of capitalism despite his utopian socialism.

The sixties and seventies saw quite a number of illegal publications, militant-democratic and utopian-socialist in content, which had started to circulate among the "masses". Very prominent among the personalities of that epoch were the workers Pyotr Alexeyev, Stepan Khalturin, and others. The proletarian-democratic current, however, was unable to free itself from the mainstream of Narodism; this became possible only after Russian Marxism took ideological shape (the Emancipation of Labour group, 1883), and a steady workers' movement, linked with Social-Democracy, began (the St. Petersburg strikes of 1895-96).

But before passing to this period, from which the appearance of the workers' press in Russia really dates, we shall quote figures which strikingly illustrate the *class* differences between the movements of the three periods referred to. These figures show the classification of persons charged with state (political) crimes according to social estate or calling (class).* For every 100 such persons there were:

* See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 328-31.—*Ed.*

	Nobles	Urban petty bourgeoisie and peasants	Peasants	Workers	Intellectuals
In 1827-46	76	23	?	?	?
" 1884-90	30.6	46.6	7.1	15.1	73.2
" 1901-03	10.7	80.9	9.0	46.1	36.7
" 1905-08	9.1	87.7	24.2	47.4	28.4

In the nobility or feudal period (1827-46), the nobles, who were an insignificant minority of the population, accounted for the vast majority of the "politicals" (76%). In the Narodnik, *raznochintsi* period (1884-90; unfortunately, figures for the sixties and seventies are not available), the nobles dropped to second place, but still provided quite a high percentage (30.6%). Intellectuals accounted for the overwhelming majority (73.2%) of participants in the democratic movement.

In the 1901-03 period, which happened to be the period of the first political Marxist newspaper, the *old Iskra*, workers (46.1%) *predominated* over intellectuals (36.7%) and the movement became wholly democratised (10.7% nobles and 80.9% "non-privileged" people).

Running ahead, we see that in the period of the first mass movement (1905-08) the *only* change was that the intellectuals (28.4% as against 36.7%) were displaced by peasants (24.2% as against 9.0%).

Social-Democracy in Russia was founded by the Emancipation of Labour group, which was formed abroad in 1883. The writings of this group, which were printed abroad and uncensored, were the first systematically to expound and draw all the practical conclusions from the ideas of Marxism, which, as the experience of the entire world has shown, alone express the true essence of the working-class movement and its aims. For the twelve years between 1883 and 1895, practically the only attempt to establish a Social-Democratic workers' press in Russia was the publication in St. Petersburg in 1885 of the Social-Democratic newspaper *Rabochy*; it was of course illegal, but only two issues appeared. Owing to the absence of a mass working-class movement, there was no scope for the wide development of a workers' press.

The inception of a mass working-class movement, with the participation of Social-Democrats, dates from 1895-96,

the time of the famous St. Petersburg strikes. It was then that a workers' press, in the real sense of the term, appeared in Russia. The chief publications in those days were illegal leaflets, most of them hectographed and devoted to "economic" (as well as non-economic) agitation, that is, to the needs and demands of the workers in different factories and industries. Obviously, this literature could not have existed without the advanced workers' most active participation in the task of compiling and circulating it. Among St. Petersburg workers active at the time mention should be made of Vasily Andreyevich Shelgunov, who later became blind and was unable to carry on with his former vigour, and Ivan Vasilyevich Babushkin, an ardent Iskrist (1900-03) and Bolshevik (1903-05), who was shot for taking part in an uprising in Siberia late in 1905 or early in 1906.

Leaflets were published by Social-Democratic groups, circles and organisations, most of which, after the end of 1895, became known as "Leagues of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class". The "Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party" was founded in 1898 at a congress of representatives of local Social-Democratic organisations.[121]

After the leaflets, illegal working-class newspapers began to appear; for example, in 1897 *St. Petersburg Rabochy Listok*[122] appeared in St. Petersburg, followed by *Rabochaya Mysl*, which was shortly afterwards transferred abroad. Since then, almost right up to the revolution, local Social-Democratic newspapers came out illegally; true, they were regularly suppressed, but reappeared again and again all over Russia.

All in all, the workers' leaflets and Social-Democratic newspapers of the time—i.e., twenty years ago—were the direct forerunners of the present-day working-class press: the same factory "exposures", the same reports on the "economic" struggle, the same treatment of the tasks of the working-class movement from the standpoint of Marxist principles and consistent democracy, and finally, *the same two main trends*—the Marxist and the opportunist—in the working-class press.

It is a remarkable fact, one that has not been duly appreciated to this day, that as soon as the *mass* working-class movement arose in Russia (1895-96), there at once

appeared the division into Marxist and opportunist trends—a division which has changed in form and features, etc., but which has remained essentially the same from 1894 to 1914. Apparently, this particular kind of division and inner struggle among Social-Democrats has deep social and class roots.

The *Rabochaya Mysl*, mentioned above, represented the *opportunist* trend of the day, known as Economism. This trend became apparent in the disputes among the local leaders of the working-class movement as early as 1894-95. And abroad, where the awakening of the Russian workers led to an efflorescence of Social-Democratic literature as early as 1896, the appearance and rallying of the Economists ended in a split in the spring of 1900 (that is, prior to the appearance of *Iskra*, the first issue of which came off the press at the very end of 1900).

The history of the working-class press during the twenty years 1894-1914 is the history of the two trends in Russian Marxism and Russian (or rather all-Russia) Social-Democracy. To *understand* the history of the working-class press in Russia, one must know, not only and not so much the names of the various organs of the press—names which convey nothing to the present-day reader and simply confuse him—as the *content*, nature and ideological line of the different sections of Social-Democracy.

The chief organs of the Economists were *Rabochaya Mysl* (1897-1900) and *Rabocheye Dyelo* (1898-1901). *Rabocheye Dyelo* was edited by B. Krichevsky, who later went over to the syndicalists, A. Martynov, a prominent Menshevik and now a liquidator, and Akimov, now an "independent Social-Democrat" who in all essentials agrees with the liquidators.

At first only Plekhanov and the whole Emancipation of Labour group (the journal *Rabotnik*,[123] etc.) fought the Economists, and then *Iskra* joined the fight (from 1900 to August 1903, up to the time of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.). What, exactly, was the essence of Economism?

In word, the Economists were all for a mass type of working-class movement and independent action by the workers, emphasising the paramount significance of "economic" agitation and urging moderation or gradualness in pass-

ing over to political agitation. As the reader sees, these are exactly the same catchwords that the liquidators flaunt today. In practice, however, the Economists pursued a liberal-labour policy, the gist of which was tersely expressed by S. N. Prokopovich, one of the Economist leaders at that time, in the words: "economic struggle is for the workers, political struggle is for the liberals". The Economists, who made the most noise about the workers' independent activity and the mass movement, were in practice an opportunist and petty-bourgeois intellectual wing of the working-class movement.

The overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers, who in 1901-03 accounted for 46 out of every 100 persons charged with state crimes, as against 37 for the intelligentsia, sided with the *old Iskra*, against the opportunists. *Iskra*'s three years of activity (1901-03) saw the elaboration of the Social-Democratic Party's Programme, its main tactics, and the forms in which the workers' economic and political struggle could be combined on the basis of consistent Marxism. During the pre-revolutionary years, the growth of the workers' press around *Iskra* and under its ideological leadership assumed enormous proportions. The number of illegal leaflets and unlicensed printing-presses was exceedingly great, and increased rapidly all over Russia.

Iskra's complete victory over Economism, the victory of consistent proletarian tactics over opportunist-intellectualist tactics in 1903, still further stimulated the influx of "fellow-travellers" into the ranks of Social-Democracy; and opportunism revived *on the soil of Iskrism*, as part of it, in the form of "Menshevism".

Menshevism took shape at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (August 1903), originating from the *minority* of the Iskrists (hence the name Menshevism*) *and from all the opportunist opponents of* Iskra. The Mensheviks reverted to Economism in a slightly renovated form, of course; headed by A. Martynov, all the Economists who had remained in the movement flocked to the ranks of the Mensheviks.

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* The Russian word Menshevism is derived from *menshinstvo*, the English for which is minority.—*Ed.*

The *new Iskra*, which from November 1903 appeared under a new editorial board, became the chief organ of Menshevism. "Between the old *Iskra* and the new lies a gulf", Trotsky, then an ardent Menshevik, frankly declared. *Vperyod* and *Proletary*[124] (1905) were the chief Bolshevik newspapers, which upheld the tactics of consistent Marxism and remained faithful to the old *Iskra*.

From the point of view of real contact with the masses and as an expression of the tactics of the proletarian masses, 1905-07, the years of revolution, were a test of the two main trends in Social-Democracy and in the working-class press—the Menshevik and Bolshevik trends. A legal Social-Democratic press could not have appeared all at once in the autumn of 1905 had the way not been paved by the activities of the advanced workers, who were closely connected with the masses. The fact that the legal Social-Democratic press of 1905, 1906 and 1907 was a press of *two* trends, of two groups, can only be accounted for by the different lines in the working-class movement at the time—the petty-bourgeois and the proletarian.

The workers' legal press appeared in all three periods of the upswing and of relative "freedom", namely, in the autumn of 1905 (the Bolsheviks' *Novaya Zhizn*,[125] and the Mensheviks' *Nachalo*[126]—we name only the chief of the many publications); in the spring of 1906 (*Volna*, *Ekho*,[127] etc., issued by the Bolsheviks, *Narodnaya Duma*[128] and others, issued by the Mensheviks); and in the spring of 1907.

The essence of the Menshevik tactics of the time was recently expressed by L. Martov in these words: "The Mensheviks saw no other way by which the proletariat could take a useful part in that crisis except by assisting the bourgeois liberal democrats in their attempts to eject the reactionary section of the propertied classes from political power—but, while rendering this assistance, the proletariat was to maintain its complete political independence." (*Among Books* by Rubakin, Vol. II, p. 772.) In practice, these tactics of "assisting" the liberals amounted to making the workers *dependent* on them; in practice they were liberal-labour tactics. The Bolsheviks' tactics, on the contrary, ensured the independence of the proletariat in the bourgeois crisis, by fighting to bring that crisis to a head, by exposing

the treachery of liberalism, by enlightening and rallying the petty bourgeoisie (especially in the countryside) to counteract that treachery.

It is a fact—and the Mensheviks themselves, including the present-day liquidators, Koltsov, Levitsky, and others, have repeatedly admitted it—that in those years (1905-07) the masses of the workers followed the lead of the Bolsheviks. Bolshevism expressed the proletarian essence of the movement, Menshevism was its opportunist, petty-bourgeois intellectual wing.

We cannot here give a more detailed characterisation of the content and significance of the tactics of the two trends in the workers' press. We can do no more than accurately establish the main facts and define the main lines of historical development.

The working-class press in Russia has almost a century of history behind it; first, the pre-history, i.e., the history, *not* of the labour, *not* of the proletarian, but of the "general democratic", i.e., bourgeois-democratic movement for emancipation, followed by its own twenty-year history of the proletarian movement, proletarian democracy or Social-Democracy.

Nowhere in the world has the proletarian movement come into being, nor could it have come into being, "all at once", in a pure class form, ready-made, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. Only through long struggle and hard work on the part of the most advanced workers, of all class-conscious workers, was it possible to build up and strengthen the class movement of the proletariat, ridding it of all petty-bourgeois admixtures, restrictions, narrowness and distortions. The working class lives side by side with the petty bourgeoisie, which, as it becomes ruined, provides increasing numbers of new recruits to the ranks of the proletariat. And Russia is the most petty-bourgeois, the most philistine of capitalist countries, which only now is passing through the period of bourgeois revolutions which Britain, for example, passed through in the seventeenth century, and France in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The class-conscious workers, who are now tackling a job that is near and dear to them, that of running the working-

class press, putting it on a sound basis and strengthening and developing it, will not forget the twenty-year history of Marxism and the Social-Democratic press in Russia.

A disservice is being done to the workers' movement by those of its weak-nerved friends among the intelligentsia who fight shy of the internal struggle among the Social-Democrats, and who fill the air with cries and calls to have nothing to do with it. They are well-meaning but futile people, and their outcries are futile.

Only by studying the history of Marxism's struggle against opportunism, only by making a thorough and detailed study of the manner in which independent proletarian democracy emerged from the petty-bourgeois hodge-podge can the advanced workers decisively strengthen their own class-consciousness and their workers' press.

Rabochy No. 1,
April 22, 1914

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WHAT SHOULD NOT BE COPIED FROM THE GERMAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

Karl Legien, one of the most prominent and responsible representatives of the German trade unions, recently published a report of his visit to America in the form of a rather bulky book entitled *The Labour Movement in America*.

As a very prominent representative of the international as well as German trade union movement, K. Legien gave his visit the nature of a special occasion, one of state importance, one might say. For years he conducted negotiations on this visit with the Socialist Party of America and the American Federation of Labour, the labour-union organisation led by the famous (or rather infamous) Gompers. When Legien heard that Karl Liebknecht was going to America, he refused to go at the same time "so as to avoid the simultaneous appearance in the United States of two spokesmen whose views on the party's tactics and on the importance and value of certain branches of the labour movement did not entirely coincide".

K. Legien collected a vast amount of material on the labour-union movement in America, but failed to digest it in his book, which is cluttered up with patchy descriptions of his journey, trivial in content and trite in style. Even the labour-union rules of America, in which Legien was particularly interested, are not studied or analysed, but merely translated incompletely and without system.

There was a highly instructive episode in Legien's tour, which strikingly revealed the *two tendencies* in the international and particularly in the German labour movement.

Legien visited the chamber of deputies of the United States, known as the Congress. Brought up in the police-

ridden Prussian state, he was favourably impressed by the democratic customs of the Republic, and he remarks with understandable pleasure that in America the government provides every congressman not only with a private office fitted with all modern conveniences, but also with a paid secretary to help him cope with a congressman's manifold duties. The simplicity and easy manners of the congressmen and the Speaker of the House were in striking contrast with what Legien had seen in European parliaments, and especially in Germany. In Europe, a Social-Democrat could not even think of delivering to a bourgeois parliament at an official session a speech of greeting! But in America this was done very simply, and the name of Social-Democrat did not frighten anybody ... except *that Social-Democrat himself*!

We have here an example of the American bourgeois method of killing unsteady socialists with kindness, and the German opportunist method of renouncing socialism in deference to the "kindly", suave and democratic bourgeoisie.

Legien's speech of greeting was translated into English (democracy was not in the least averse to hearing a "foreign" language spoken in its parliament); all two hundred odd congressmen shook hands in turn with Legien as the "guest" of the Republic, and the speaker expressed his thanks.

"The form and content of my speech of greeting," writes Legien, "were sympathetically received by the socialist press both in the United States and Germany. Certain editors in Germany, however, could not resist pointing out that my speech proved once again what an impossible task it is for a Social-Democrat to deliver a Social-Democratic speech to a bourgeois audience. Well, in my place, these editors would, no doubt, have delivered a speech against capitalism and in favour of a mass strike, but I considered it important to emphasise to this parliament that the Social-Democratic and industrially organised workers of Germany want peace among the nations, and through peace, the development of culture to the highest degree attainable."

Poor "editors", whom our Legien has annihilated with his "statesmanlike" speech! The opportunism of trade union leaders in general, and of Legien in particular, has long been common knowledge in the German labour movement, and has been duly appraised by a great many class-conscious

workers. But with us in Russia, where far too much is spoken about the "model" of *European* socialism with precisely the worst, most objectionable features of this "model" being chosen, it would be advisable to deal with Legien's speech in somewhat greater detail.

When he addressed the highest body of representatives of capitalist America, this leader of a two-million-strong army of German trade unionists—namely, the Social-Democratic trade unions—this member of the Social-Democratic group in the German Reichstag, delivered a purely liberal, bourgeois speech. Needless to say, not a single liberal, not even an Octobrist, would hesitate to subscribe to a speech about "peace" and "culture".

And when German socialists remarked that this was not a Social-Democratic speech, this "leader" of capital's wage-slaves treated them with scathing contempt. What are "editors" compared to a "practical politician" and collector of workers' pennies! Our philistine Narcissus has the same contempt for editors as the police panjandrums in a certain country have for the third element.[129]

"These editors" would no doubt have delivered a speech "against capitalism".

Just think what this quasi-socialist is sneering at! He is sneering at the idea that a socialist should think it necessary to speak *against* capitalism. To the "statesmen" of German opportunism such an idea is utterly alien; they talk in such a way as *not to offend* "capitalism". Disgracing themselves by this servile renunciation of socialism, they brag of their disgrace.

Legien is not just anybody. He is a representative of the army of trade unions, or rather, the officers' corps of that army. His speech was no accident, no slip of the tongue, no casual whimsy, no blunder of a provincial German office clerk overawed by American capitalists, who were polite and revealed no trace of police arrogance. If it were *only* this, Legien's speech would not be worthy of note.

But it was obviously not that.

At the International Congress in Stuttgart, half the German delegation turned out to be sham socialists of this type, who voted for the ultra-opportunist resolution on the colonial question.[130]

Take the German magazine *Sozialistische* (??) *Monatshefte*[131] and you will always find in it utterances by men like Legien, which are thoroughly opportunist, and have *nothing* in common with socialism, utterances touching on *all* the vital issues of the labour movement.

The "official" explanation of the "official" German party is that "nobody reads" *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, that it has no influence, etc.; but that is *not true*. The Stuttgart "incident" proved that it is not true. The most prominent and responsible people, members of parliament and trade union leaders who write for *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, constantly and undeviatingly propagate their views among the masses.

The "official optimism" of the German party has long been noted in its own camp by those people who earned Legien's appellation of "these editors"—an appellation contemptuous from the point of view of the bourgeois and honourable from the point of view of a socialist. And the more often the liberals and the liquidators in Russia (including Trotsky, of course) attempt to *transplant* this amiable characteristic *to our soil*, the more determinedly must they be resisted.

German Social-Democracy has many great services to its credit. Thanks to Marx's struggle against all the Höchbergs, Dührings, and Co., it possesses a strictly formulated theory, which our Narodniks vainly try to evade or touch up along opportunist lines. It has a mass organisation, newspapers, trade unions, political associations—that same mass organisation which is so definitely building up in our country in the shape of the victories the *Pravda* Marxists are winning everywhere—in Duma elections, in the daily press, in Insurance Board elections, and in the trade unions. The attempts of our liquidators, whom the workers have "removed from office", to evade the question of the growth of this mass organisation in Russia in a form adapted to Russian conditions are as vain as those of the Narodniks, and imply a similar intellectualist *breakaway* from the working-class movement.

But the merits of German Social-Democracy are merits, not because of shameful speeches like those delivered by Legien or the "utterances" (in the press) by the contribu-

tors to *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, but *despite* them. We must not try to play down the *disease* which the German party is undoubtedly suffering from, and which reveals itself in phenomena of this kind; nor must we play it down with "officially optimistic" phrases. We must lay it bare to the Russian workers, so that we may learn from the experience of the older movement, learn what should not be copied from it.

Prosveshcheniye No. 4,
April 1914
Signed: *V. I.*

Published according to
the text in *Prosveshcheniye*

BOOK REVIEW

N. A. Rubakin, *Among Books*, Vol. II.
Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1913.
Price 4 rubles. Second Edition

This bulky tome of 930 large pages of very small type, printed partly in double columns, is an "attempt to review Russian book treasures in connection with the history of scientific-philosophical and literary-social ideas". Thus runs the subtitle of the book.

The second volume, which we are here reviewing, covers the various fields of the social sciences. This includes, among others, socialism in Western Europe as well as in Russia. A publication of this type is obviously of great interest, and the author's plan is on the whole a correct one. It is really impossible to give a *sensible* "review of Russian book treasures" and a "work of reference" for self-education and libraries otherwise than in connection with the history of ideas. What is needed here is "preliminary remarks" to every section (these the author provides) with a general survey of the subject and an accurate summary of *each* ideological trend, as well as a list of books for the particular section and for each ideological trend.

The author and his numerous collaborators, as mentioned in the preface, have expended an enormous amount of labour and started an extremely valuable undertaking, which deserves from us the cordial wish that it may grow and develop in scope and depth. Very valuable, among other things, is the fact that the author excludes neither foreign publications nor publications that have been prosecuted. No decent library can dispense with Mr. Rubakin's work.

The faults of this book are its author's eclecticism and the fact that he does not sufficiently enlist, or rather, that

he has barely begun to enlist, the co-operation of specialists on definite subjects.

The first fault is perhaps due to the author's peculiar aversion for "polemics". In his preface, Mr. Rubakin says: "Never in my life have I taken part in any polemics, for I believe that in the overwhelming majority of cases polemics are one of the best means of obscuring the truth with all sorts of human emotions." The author does not realise, for one thing, that there has never been, nor can there be, any human *search* for truth without "human emotions". The author forgets, secondly, that he has set out to review "the history of ideas", and the history of ideas is that of the succession, and *consequently* of the *conflict* of ideas.

One of the two—*either* we ignore the conflict of ideas, in which case it is rather difficult to undertake a review of its history (let alone participate in this conflict), *or* else we abandon the claim "never to take part in any polemics". For example: I turn to Mr. Rubakin's "preliminary remarks" on the theory of political economy and at once see that the author escapes from this dilemma firstly by means of *veiled* polemics (a form that has all the demerits of polemics and none of its great merits), and, secondly, by defending eclecticism.

In his outline of Bogdanov's *Short Course*, Mr. Rubakin ventures" to note the "interesting" similarity between one of the deductions made by the "Marxist" author and "N. K. Mikhailovsky's well-known formula of progress" (p. 815).

O, Mr. Rubakin, who says, "Never in my life have I taken part in any polemics"....

On the preceding page he eulogises the "strictly scientific method, profound analysis and critical attitude towards extremely important theories" of—who would you think?—that exemplary eclecticist Mr. Tugan-Baranovsky! Mr. Rubakin himself is compelled to admit that this professor is somewhat of an adherent of Marxism, somewhat of an adherent of Narodism and somewhat of an adherent of the "theory of marginal utility",[132] and yet calls him a "socialist"! Does not writing a monstrous thing like this amount to indulging in *polemics* of the worst kind *against* socialism?

Had Mr. Rubakin divided the 14,000 odd words (i.e., a whole pamphlet) which he wrote as an introduction to the literature on political economy, into four parts, and had he arranged to have them written by, say, a Black-Hundred-man, a liberal, a Narodnik, and a Marxist, we would have had a more *public* polemic, and 999 readers out of a thousand would have discovered the truth a thousand times more easily and quickly.

Mr. Rubakin has resorted to this kind of device—that of enlisting the co-operation of representatives of "polemics"—in the question of Bolshevism and Menshevism, and devoted half a page to me* and another half to L. Martov. As far as I am concerned, I am quite satisfied with L. Martov's exposition, for example, with his admission that liquidationism amounts to attempts "at creating a legal workers' party", and to "a negative attitude to surviving underground organisations" (pp. 771-72), or with his admission that "Menshevism saw no other way in which the proletariat could take a useful part in the crisis" (i.e., that of 1905) "except by helping the bourgeois liberal democrats in their attempts to eject the reactionary section of the propertied classes from political power—but while rendering this assistance, the proletariat was to maintain its complete political independence" (772).

As soon as Mr. Rubakin continues this outline of Menshevism on his own, he falls into error—for example, his assertion that Axelrod "*withdrew*" from liquidationism together with Plekhanov (772). While we do not blame Mr. Rubakin very much for such errors, which are inevitable in the initial stages of a work of this varied and compilatory nature, yet we cannot help wishing that the author would more often employ the method of enlisting the co-operation of representatives of the different trends *in all* fields of knowledge. This would make for greater accuracy and completeness of the work, as well as for its *impartiality*; only eclecticism and *veiled* polemics stand to lose by this.

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* See present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 485-86.—*Ed.*

LIQUIDATIONISM DEFINED

Readers of our paper are aware what a great deal of controversy and conflict liquidationism is causing in the working class movement of Russia today. We have repeatedly pointed out that every class-conscious worker (in a sense, we would even say every politically-conscious democrat) must have a clear and definite understanding of liquidationism.

Nonetheless, our opponents in both *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* and *Nasha Zarya* not only fail to publish in full and explain to their readers the gist of the official decisions dealing with liquidationism (for example, from the texts of 1908 and 1910), but, what is far worse and far more harmful, they either flatly "deny" the existence of liquidationism, or else mouth incoherent irrelevancies, *instead of* accurately reporting the decision *unanimously* adopted in 1910.

We therefore consider it necessary to take advantage of such a rare occasion as that afforded by *L. Martov himself*, who has given in the press an astonishingly (for this writer) exact and truthful definition or description of liquidationism.

In Volume II of N. Rubakin's well-known book *Among Books* (second edition, Moscow, 1913, p. 771) we find that Mr. Rubakin has published without the slightest alteration a letter from L. Martov replying to Mr. Rubakin's request "to set forth the gist and history of Menshevism". In this letter L. Martov writes literally the following:

"After the social movement was crushed, the same tendency of the Mensheviks [namely, the tendency "to start party construction anew in a more definite class-socialist spirit or to give Social-Democracy a new basis for its radical self-reformation"] towards the organisational reform of the Party found expression in increased activities aimed at the formation of all kinds of non-party labour organisations—trade unions, self-education societies (in some cases, co-operative

societies), etc., *and in attempts, through these societies, to form a legal workers' party*, or organised outposts of it [in the course of the controversy, those who took part in these attempts were dubbed "legalists" or "*liquidators*" *because of their negative attitude towards the surviving underground organisations*]."

This is all that Martov had to say about liquidationism. We have underlined the principal passages. We shall not dwell on the minor misstatement that it was only "in the course of the controversy" and that only "those who took part in these attempts" who were called liquidators; as a matter of fact, the general Marxist, official decision of 1908, which is binding on all Marxists, speaks of liquidationism as a definite trend. But that is a relatively minor point.

The major point is that L. Martov has here unwittingly revealed that he understands and knows what liquidationism is.

Attempts to form a legal workers' party and of course advocacy and defence of this idea; a negative attitude towards the organisations of the "old type" which still survive (and, naturally, may arise anew)—such is the crux of the matter, which *Nasha Zarya*, *Luch*, and *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* have tried a thousand times to confuse, obscure and deny.

The reader who gives thought to the significance of the facts we have quoted will realise why the mere mention of "unity" by the liquidators is capable of arousing, in class-conscious workers, either violent indignation and protest, or (according to their mood) scathing ridicule. One can conceive of an advocate of the legal-party idea sincerely and honestly repudiating the "underground", if those are his convictions. But one *cannot* conceive of sincere and honest talk about "unity" on the part of those who contribute to *Nasha Zarya* or *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*. To write for these journals means, *in effect*, to fight *against* the "underground" and *for* a legal party, which they continue to advocate and stand up for.

Therefore, when the International Socialist Bureau, in December 1913, brought up the question of ascertaining the conditions on which unity could be achieved in Russia, the organised Marxists in St. Petersburg and Moscow at once

publicly declared that the primary and basic condition was emphatic and unqualified rejection of liquidationism, a complete and radical change in the *entire trend* of the *Nasha Zarya* and *Luch* group. The *Luch* people answered, also publicly (both F. D. and L. M.), that they did not agree with this.

That being the case, it is obvious that people who talk about "unity" with this group, which persists in its liberal ideas, are deceiving both themselves and others. Real unity has already been developed and will continue to be developed among the majority of the class-conscious workers, who have rallied round the Marxist decisions and round the entire Marxist body, against this splitting group.

Put Pravdy No. 73,
April 29, 1914

Published according to
the text in *Put Pravdy*

CONCLUDING REMARKS TO THE SYMPOSIUM *MARXISM AND LIQUIDATIONISM*

Liquidationism is an issue of vital importance, not only to labour democracy but to Russian democracy generally. When our democratic press tries to sidestep this issue, or skim over it as a "private controversy" among Marxists, it merely reveals a desire to evade an appraisal of the cardinal political problems of our day. For the question of liquidationism is one of our entire appraisal of the June Third system, and, in broader terms, of our counter-revolution generally. It is a question of the basic tasks and methods of the democrats.

No one, I believe, has questioned the fact that the latest period of Russian history, beginning approximately with 1908, has been marked not only by the extreme intensification of reaction's persecution of everything democratic, but by profound ideological disunity and disintegration, which has affected the proletariat as well as all bourgeois-democratic elements. But whereas *everyone* acknowledges this obvious fact, only the Marxists have set themselves the clear and immediate task of precisely defining the *class* roots and *class* implications of this disunity and disintegration. Without such a definition there can be no conscious choice of tactics.

Work in that direction started in our Marxist press abroad in 1908, i.e., as soon as disunity became a fact. The Marxists could not accept this disunity, as the liberals had done, nor could they confine themselves to subjectively condemning it, as even the best (in the democratic sense) of the Narodniks had done. The social trends called for a socio-economic, i.e., class explanation.

December 1908 saw an explanation of the substance of liquidationism given in the Bolshevik press and endorsed by a Party decision which was binding on all. The spring of 1909 saw a formal break between the Bolsheviks (as represented by their leading body) and the so-called Vperyodists,* who accepted otzovism[133] or considered it a "legitimate trend" and defended "god-building" and the reactionary philosophy of Machism.** This break revealed the main features of "Left liquidationism", its leaning towards anarchism, just as Right liquidationism, or liquidationism proper, leans towards liberalism.

By January 1910 this Marxist analysis of the present disunity and disintegration, nine-tenths of which had been given by the Bolshevik press abroad, was so complete and the facts so irrefutably established, that *all* Marxists, representatives of *all* trends (including *both* the liquidators and the Vperyodists) were compelled *unanimously* to acknowledge, in the decisions of January 1910, that both the liquidationist and Vperyodist "deviations" were *manifestations of bourgeois influence* on the proletariat.

A glance at the situation in the *non*-Marxist movement will be enough to make one realise the social significance of this Marxist analysis and Marxist decision. Among the liberals we find the extreme Vekhist liquidationism and confusion, which persists *to this day*, on the question of whether the methods of 1905 have been abandoned or not. Among the *Left* Narodniks we find extreme liquidationist pronouncements, beginning with the Paris publications of 1908-11, the nebulous liquidationism of *Pochin*[134] and ending with the liquidationist mouthings of Savinkov-Ropshin and Chernov in *Zavety*. On the other hand, the Left Narodniks' official otzovism continues to erode and weaken their ranks.

The objective validity of the Marxist analysis was confirmed by the fact that in the course of the five odd years since 1908 *all* progressive trends of social thought have been constantly coming up against *these* selfsame liquidationist and Narodnik errors, *these* selfsame questions of applying old methods to the solution of old but still

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* Alexinsky, Bogdanov, Lunacharsky, S. Volsky and others.

** See present edition, Vol. 15, pp. 425-51.—*Ed.*

unresolved problems, and of marshalling our forces in a new situation and with new methods.

At the beginning of the June Third period, Marxist analysis helped to reveal the theoretical deviations towards liquidationism and otzovism. Now, at the close of the period, we see how, even in the open arena, in full sight of everybody, the vast majority of class-conscious workers of Russia have rallied around the Marxists, while both *flanks* of the democratic press, which seeks to influence the proletariat, are preoccupied with petty-bourgeois liquidationism and petty-bourgeois Narodism. Not so long ago the Left-Narodnik *Severnaya Mysl* (No. 1) carried the following report from a Mr. Braines on the social insurance campaign in Riga:

"The boycottist trend is apparent only among the shoemakers, where boycottist groups have been formed. Unfortunately, the Narodniks are the leading spirits in these groups." (Quoted in the article "Narodism and Liquidationism as Disintegrating Elements in the Working-Class Movement",* in *Proletarskaya Pravda* No. 12, for December 20, 1913.)

The same paper had to admit that:

"To the honour of the Marxists be it said that they enjoy considerable influence at present in the unions [i.e., the trade unions] whereas we Left Narodniks work in them without a definite plan, and for that reason our influence is scarcely felt." (Ibid.)

The doctrinal feebleness of the Left Narodniks, who combine the new-fangled opportunism of the European philistines with the purely Russian philistine defence of "labouring" proprietors, is naturally complemented by tactical feebleness and vacillation. Nothing remains of the old Left-Narodnik party except vacillation, and the same applies to the liquidators. Defeated in the working-class movement, these petty-bourgeois trends had no choice but to *form a bloc against the Marxists.*

It has been a steady descent. From advocacy of a legal party, from the speeches of the Potresovs and the Yushkeviches, with their renouncement of the idea of hegemony and of Marxism, the liquidators have sunk to a direct *struggle* against the Marxist party. Here is what a St. Petersburg Left Narodnik wrote the other day in *Stoikaya Mysl* (No. 5):

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* See pp. 59-62 of this volume.—*Ed.*

"As soon as we came into the hall (where the election of the Insurance Board was taking place) the narrow factional stand taken by the Pravdists at once became clear. But we do not lose hope. Together with the liquidators we are drawing up a non-factional list that will give us one seat on the Board and two alternate seats. (Quoted from *Put Pravdy* No. 38, for March 16, 1914.)

Petty-bourgeois democrats of all trends who wish to corrupt the workers with bourgeois influence—unite against the Marxists! The silly word "non-factional", which fascinates people who are incapable of thinking and learning, is so convenient and pleasing a word for the philistine! But the bloc with the Left Narodniks was no help to the poor liquidators, and never can be. The class-conscious workers elected to the Insurance Board *only* Marxists, opponents of liquidationism.

Grouplets of non-Party intellectuals, who seek to subject the workers to bourgeois policy and bourgeois ideology, have now taken definite shape in Russia: the liquidators and the Left Narodniks. For nearly twenty years, ever since Economism first appeared on the scene (1894-95), the ground has been laid for this *alliance* of opportunists from among the near-Party Marxists with the Narodniks *against* consistent Marxism. It is high time to face the facts squarely and say firmly and emphatically: the Marxist working-class movement in Russia is being built, and can be built, *only* in a struggle against liquidationism and Narodism.

All over the world, in every capitalist society, the proletariat is inevitably connected with the petty bourgeoisie by a thousand ties, and everywhere the period of formation of workers' parties was attended by its more or less prolonged and persistent ideological and political subjection to the bourgeoisie. This is common to all capitalist countries, but it assumes different forms in different countries, depending on historical and economic factors. In Britain, in conditions of complete political freedom and with the country enjoying a long period of monopoly, the liberal bourgeoisie was for decades able to corrupt and ideologically enslave the majority of class-conscious workers. In France, the traditions of republican petty-bourgeois radicalism have been converting very many workers into supporters of the "Radical"

bourgeois party, or of equally bourgeois anarchism. In Germany, half a century ago, the workers still followed the liberal Schulze-Delitzsch and were taken in by the "national-liberal" ("Royal-Prussian") opportunistic vacillation of Lassalle and Schweitzer, while today hundreds of thousands of workers follow the Catholic "centre", with its sham "democracy".

In Russia, the *bourgeois-democratic* solution of the peasant question has not been completed to this day. It is therefore not surprising to see petty-bourgeois Narodism parading as "socialism". Russia is the *most* petty bourgeois of all capitalist countries. Consequently, as soon as Marxism became a *mass* social trend in Russia, intellectualist petty-bourgeois opportunism made itself felt, first in the form of Economism and "legal Marxism" (1895-1902), later in the form of Menshevism* (1903-08), and finally in the form of liquidationism (1908-14).

Liquidationism has now reached full maturity, a complete break with the Marxist workers' party. If Mr. L. M., the most "Left" of the liquidators—and the most adroit in producing evasive formulas—writes:

> "experience has shown that the 'legal workers' party' is not a reactionary dream, for *such a party*, *in a certain sense*, *exists* in Russia at present..." (L. M.'s italics; *Nasha Zarya* No. 2, 1914, p. 83),

then it should be clear to all that it is absurd and preposterous even to think *of the possibility* of "uniting" or "reconciling" *such* a group with the Marxist workers' party.

Only hopelessly empty-headed people can now talk of the Marxist workers' party "uniting" with *such* a group, with that of *Nasha Zarya* and *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* group.

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* The liquidationist historians present a ludicrous spectacle indeed when they have to dodge and manoeuvre in order to *disguise* the unpleasant but irrefutable fact that Menshevism (and liquidationism even more so) emerged *from* the very Economism, Bundism and "legal Marxism" against which the old *Iskra*, builder of the working-class party in Russia, fought for *three years*. See, for instance, Mr. Potresov's pamphlet on Axelrod. Mr. Potresov has tried just as zealously and just as unsuccessfully to disguise and *conceal* the fact that in his "Zemstvo campaign plan"[135] Axelrod urged us not to frighten the liberals away. Incidentally, even the Menshevik Plekhanov has fully admitted the historical (in addition to theoretical) kinship between liquidationism, and Economism and "legal Marxism".

Class divisions in Russia in 1914 are in every respect more politically definite and sharper than they were in 1904. At that time it was only the landed nobility that showed no cleavage, and the salon liberalism of some of its representatives frightened even the old regime. At that time, this regime considered the muzhik such a reliable pillar of law and order that it allowed him a very large measure of influence in the Bulygin and Witte Dumas.[136] At that time, Guchkov-Milyukov-Peshekhonov liberalism and democracy could still present a single and uniform school of thought. At that time Menshevism wanted to be—and in effect was—an *inner*-Party trend, one that sought to defend opportunist slogans in "programmatic discussions" *within* the workers' party.

Present-day liquidationism has since then moved miles to the right. It has quitted the Party, shaken the dust of the "underground" from its feet, and is a closely knit anti-partyist centre of journalists writing for the legal liberal and liquidationist press, men whom the workers have removed from every office in all working-class organisations and societies. To compare *this* liquidationism with the Menshevism of 1903-07 is to allow oneself to be blinded and deafened by old names and catchwords, and to have absolutely no understanding of the evolution of class and party relations in Russia during the past ten years.

Present-day liquidationism, that of 1914, is the same as the *Tovarishch* group of 1907.[137]

It is quite natural that in exile and emigration, where people are so out of touch with real conditions, so immured in memories of the past, of the events of seven or ten years ago, one comes across dozens of these "have-beens", who dream of "unity" between the workers' party and the group of Messrs. L. M., F. D., Potresov, Yezhov, Sedov and Co. And there are also very many of these "have-beens", but of a poorer moral calibre, among intellectuals associated with the workers' party in 1904-07 and now holding "cushy jobs" in various legal organisations.

No less natural is it that among Russian working-class youth of today all these dreams and all this talk of complacent individuals about "unity" of liquidators and the workers' party produce either Homeric and most impolite

laughter, or else bewilderment and pity for these intellectualist Manilovs. This is perfectly natural, for our present-day working-class youth *have seen* the liquidators desert the Party, seen their *flight* from the "defunct Party cells", heard their renegade speeches about the "underground" and the harmfulness of "boosting the illegal Press" (see statement in *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*, March 13, 1914), have been obliged to *combat* the bloc of this gentry both with the Narodniks and with the non-party element at a number of congresses, in the elections to the Fourth Duma, at a number of meetings of workers' societies, and in the elections to the Insurance Board, and have been obliged to *remove* these individuals *from office* in every workers' organisation.

Let Trotsky, in *Borba*, cast imploring looks at Skobelev and Chkheidze; let contributors to the Paris newspaper *Za Partiyu**[138] look with hope and trust to Buryanov[139]; let them reiterate all this talk about "unity"—their words now have a ring of sadness and irrelevancy.

To preach "unity" between Marxists and people who claim that a "legal workers' party is not a reactionary dream", etc., one has to be either fantastically stupid, or else have no knowledge and no understanding whatever of the Russian working-class movement and of the position in the local organisations, or else one has to long for such a pleasant "pendulum" state of affairs in which—who knows!—Trotsky (or some other "non-factionalist") will be invited to engineer "non-factional" unity "on an equal basis" between the group that contribute to *Nasha Zarya*, *Dyen* and *Kievskaya Mysl* and the groups of Marxist workers. What a sweet and delightful prospect!

But real life, the real history of the attempts to "unite" with the liquidators, reveals something very far removed from this sweet and delightful prospect. There was a serious and concerted effort to unite with the liquidators in January 1910, but it was wrecked by the liquidators. There was unity of *all* groups and grouplets with the liquidators against the hateful Conference of January 1912. This was

* Plekhanov.

ardent and passionate unity based on the most passionate (and violently abusive) invective against that Conference, with both Trotsky and the *Za Partiyu* contributors and, of course, all the Vperyodists taking part in this "union". If the evil Leninist splitters were really an obstacle to unity, then real unity would have blossomed forth immediately after the joint statement against the Leninists, which these groups and the liquidators published in *Vorwärts* in March 1912!

But, alas, these queer unity-builders have since then—since the workers in Russia, having inaugurated *Pravda* in April, proceeded to unite the hundreds and thousands of workers' groups in all parts of the country on a basis of loyalty to the Party—these queer unity-builders have, ever since March 1912, displayed ever greater disunity amongst themselves! By August 1912 the famous "August bloc" of the liquidators was formed *without* the Vperyodists and *without* "*Za Partiyu*".

The next eighteen months saw the growth, maturity and ultimate consolidation of the unity of workers' groups in Russia, in *all* legal working-class societies, in all the trade unions and organisations and in a good many newspapers and organs, with the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma, which is prepared to carry out the will of the majority of the workers.

But what of our "unity-builders"?

Oh, their "unity" efforts have been so felicitous and successful that instead of one *Vperyod* group there are now two (not counting Bogdanov, the empirio-monist whom some take for a third *Vperyod* group[140]); instead of a single Trotsky-and-liquidator paper (*Luch*), there is now, in addition, Trotsky's own organ, *Borba*, which this time promises genuine "non-factionalism". And besides Trotsky's timid withdrawal from the liquidator ranks, there has been a complete and resolute withdrawal from them of *all the organised Lettish Marxists*, who, *despite* their strict neutrality and non-factionalism, forthrightly declared at their 1914 Congress:

"*The conciliators* (*participants in the August bloc*) *have themselves fallen into ideological and political dependence on the liquidators*"*!*

From March 1912, when *everyone* united with the liquidators against the evil "Leninist splitters", up to March 1914, when the fictitious "August bloc" finally fell to pieces, it became abundantly clear that the real unity of the Marxist workers (in Russia, not in Paris or Vienna) is proceeding, and will only proceed, *in opposition* to the liquidationist group and *regardless* of the empty talk about "unity" with the advocates of a "legal workers' party".

Thousands of workers' groups openly, and publicly rallying around the Marxist paper—here is living proof of genuine unity and its development. Based on the principles evolved by the Marxists at the beginning of the June Third period, this unity has enabled us—a hundredfold more successfully than anyone else has done—to utilise every legal opportunity, to utilise it *in the spirit* of a ruthless war against the ideas that condemn the "boosting of the illegal press", or accept advocacy of "a legal party", or renounce hegemony, or relegate to the background the "pillars",[141] etc., etc.

And only such unity, based on these principles, indicates the correct path to the Russian working class.

Written in April 1914

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MORE ABOUT THE POLITICAL CRISIS

A good deal has already been said in the newspapers about the famous Duma session of April 22 at which all the Social-Democrats and Trudoviks were ejected.[142] However, the full implications of this event have not yet been sufficiently explained.

Every political crisis, whatever its outcome, is useful in that it brings to light things that have been hidden, reveals the forces operating in politics, exposes deception and self-deception, catch-phrases and fictions, and affords striking demonstration of "*things as they are*", by forcibly driving them home.

All the democratic members of the Duma, both Social-Democrats and Trudoviks, were suspended for fifteen sessions and ejected, most of them by armed force. This was done in deference to those who, by taking measures against Chkheidze, clearly revealed their "firm" intention of taking a step (or rather, a dozen steps at once) towards the right. The Rights and Octobrists, *plus some of the Progressists*, i.e., the bourgeois liberals, who are in close, in fact, inseparable league with the Cadets, voted for this ejection.

The Cadets abstained! This abstention by a party which claims to be democratic admirably revealed—by no means for the first time—the true nature of the Cadet gentry's liberalism. The Fourth Duma prepares to expel Chkheidze, then the other Social-Democrats, and then all the democrats, and starts by suspending them, yet the "leaders" of the liberal opposition *abstain from voting*! No matter how many gallons of ink the liberals and Cadets may afterwards use up to invent sophisms and evasions such as: we merely disapproved of the "form" of the Social-Democrats' speeches,

etc.—the crux of the matter will remain clear to anybody who does not wish to deceive himself.

Abstaining from voting when Goremykin, Rodzyanko and their majority expelled the democratic deputies actually implied tacit support, moral approval and political endorsement of Goremykin and Rodzyanko and their majority.

One cannot agree with the point of view expressed by L. M. in *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*, No. 61, who wrote that the "Duma majority headed by the Octobrists have committed political suicide". That is the point of view of a Left liberal, not of a democrat, and certainly not of a Social-Democrat.

The Duma majority and the Octobrists have not committed suicide at all. All of them are deliberate counter-revolutionaries, deliberate participants in the June Third bloc and in the Stolypin system, deliberate enemies of democracy. Since they recognise Goremykin as their political leader, why is it suicide for them to follow this leader against their class enemies, against the representatives of democracy, who are notoriously hostile to the Octobrists?

What is the purpose of these turgid and utterly false phrases about "suicide"? Such phrases *assume* that the Octobrists are *not* the enemies of democracy, i.e., assume something that is disgustingly false. These phrases resemble the vulgar democratism of those misguided Left Narodniks who often shouted that the Third and the Fourth Duma were a "pasteboard" institution, a house of cards. The Octobrists' vote for Goremykin, Maklakov and Shcheglovitov could have been considered suicidal only if the Octobrists had expressed the "will of the people". Actually, however, they express the "*will*" of those sections of the big bourgeoisie and the landlords which stand in mortal fear of the people.

No, let us face the truth squarely. In politics that is always the best and the only correct attitude.

And the truth is that the Duma events of April 22 shattered and killed the remnants of constitutional and legalistic illusions The counter-revolutionary bloc of Purishkevich, Rodzyanko and the "Left" Octobrists, plus a section of the Progressists, came out against democracy bluntly,

openly, determinedly, in soldier fashion (not in the metaphorical, but in the literal sense of this last term, for soldiers were called into the Duma). The counter-revolutionary liberals, Milyukov and Co., *abstained from voting*. This could only have been expected after all that has happened in the Third and the Fourth Duma, after all that happened in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Well, the less self-deception there is, the better for the people. What has the country gained from the Duma events of April 22? It has gained by losing another particle of illusions that are detrimental to the cause of freedom in this country.

Put Pravdy No. 76,
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THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

The profound ideological change that has taken place among the *opposition*, or progressive, sections of the people is an extremely important and distinctive feature of post-revolutionary Russia. To forget this distinctive feature is to prevent oneself from understanding the Russian revolution and its character, as well as the tasks of the working class in our time.

The ideological change among the liberal bourgeoisie is expressed in the rise of an anti-democratic trend (Struve, Izgoyev and V. Maklakov openly, the rest of the Cadets secretly, "bashfully").

Among the democrats this change is expressed in the utter ideological confusion and vacillation that prevail among both the Social-Democrats (proletarian democrats) and the Socialist-Revolutionaries (bourgeois democrats). Even the best representatives of democracy confine themselves to *bewailing* this confusion, vacillation and backsliding. The Marxists, however, look for the *class* roots of this *social* phenomenon.

The chief symptom of this break-down is liquidationism, which as far back as 1908 was officially defined as "an attempt by a certain part of the intelligentsia to liquidate" the "underground", and to "substitute" for it a legal workers' party, a definition that was endorsed by "the entire Marxist body".[143] At the last official meeting of leading Marxists held in January 1910, which was attended by representatives of *all* "trends" and groups, there was *not a single* person who protested against the condemnation of liquidationism as a *manifestation of bourgeois influence on the proletariat*. This condemnation, which was also an

explanation of the *class* roots of liquidationism, was adopted *unanimously*.

Over four years have passed since then, and the vast experience of the mass working-class movement has provided a thousand proofs that this appraisal of liquidationism is correct.

The facts have shown that, between them, the theory of Marxism and the practical experience of the mass working-class movement have killed liquidationism, which is a bourgeois and anti-workers' trend. It is sufficient to recall how, in a single month, March 1914, *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* vilified the "illegal press" (issue of March 13), and demonstrations (Mr. Gorsky in the issue of April 11), and how Bulkin, in perfect imitation of the liberals, vilified the "underground" (*Nasha Zarya* No. 3), how the notorious *L. M.*, on behalf of the editors of *Nasha Zarya*, fully supported Bulkin on this point and argued the case for "building a legal workers' party"—it is sufficient to recall all this to understand why the attitude of the class-conscious workers towards liquidationism *cannot* be anything else than that of ruthless condemnation and complete boycott of the liquidators.

But here a very important question crops up: How did this trend arise historically?

It arose in the course of the *twenty years*' history of Marxism's ties with the mass working-class movement in Russia. Up to 1894-95 there were no such ties. The Emancipation of Labour group only laid the theoretical foundations for the Social-Democratic movement and took the first step towards the working-class movement.

It was only the propaganda of 1894-95 and the strikes of 1895-96 that established firm and inseverable ties between Social-Democracy and the mass working-class movement. And *immediately* an ideological struggle commenced between the two trends of Marxism: the struggle between the Economists and the consistent Marxists or (later) Iskrists (1895-1902), the struggle between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks (1903-08), and the struggle between the liquidators and the Marxists (1908-14).

Economism and liquidationism are two different forms of the same petty-bourgeois, intellectualist opportunism that

has existed for twenty years. That there is a personal as well as ideological connection between all these forms of opportunism is an undoubted fact. It is sufficient to mention the name of the leader of the Economists, A. Martynov, who subsequently became a Menshevik and is now a liquidator. It is sufficient to call a witness like G. V. Plekhanov, who, on very many points,* stood close to the Mensheviks, but nevertheless openly admitted that the Mensheviks absorbed intellectualist opportunist elements into their ranks, and that the liquidators continued the errors of Economism and were disrupters of the workers' party.

People who (like the liquidators and Trotsky) ignore or falsify this twenty years' history of the ideological struggle in the working-class movement do tremendous harm to the workers.

A worker who takes an anythingarian attitude towards the history of his own movement cannot be considered class-conscious. Of all the capitalist countries, Russia is one of the most backward and most petty bourgeois. That is why the *mass* working-class movement gave rise to a petty-bourgeois, opportunist *wing* in that movement, not by chance, but inevitably.

The progress made during these twenty years in ridding the working-class movement of the influence of the bourgeoisie, of the influence of Economism and of liquidationism, has been *tremendous*. For the first time, a real, proletarian foundation for a real Marxist party is being securely laid. It is generally admitted, even the opponents of the Pravdists

* Why do we say "on very many points"? Because Plekhanov occupied a *special* position, and departed from Menshevism *many* times: (1) at the 1903 Congress Plekhanov fought the opportunism of the Mensheviks, (2) after the Congress Plekhanov edited Nos. 46-51 of *Iskra*, also in opposition to the Mensheviks, (3) in 1904 Plekhanov defended Axelrod's plan for a Zemstvo campaign in such a way that he passed over its chief mistakes in silence, (4) in the spring of 1905 Plekhanov left the Mensheviks, (5) in 1906, after the dissolution of the First Duma, the stand Plekhanov took was not at all a Menshevik one (see *Proletary*,[144] August 1906), (present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 179-83.—Ed.); (6) at the London Congress in 1907—as Cherevanin relates—Plekhanov opposed the "organisational anarchism" of the Mensheviks. One must know these facts in order to understand why the Menshevik Plekhanov so long and so resolutely fought liquidationism and denounced it.

are compelled to admit—the facts compel them to admit it!—that among class-conscious workers the Pravdists constitute the overwhelming majority. What the Marxist "plenum" of January 1910 recognised *theoretically* (that liquidationism is "bourgeois influence on the proletariat"), the class-conscious workers have been putting into practice during the past four years; they have secured practical recognition of it by weakening the liquidators, by removing them from office, by reducing liquidationism to a group of legal, opportunist publicists standing outside the mass working-class movement.

During this twenty-year-old conflict of ideas the working-class movement in Russia has been growing in scope and strength and steadily maturing. It has defeated Economism; the flower of the class-conscious proletariat have sided with the Iskrists. At every decisive stage in the revolution they have left the Mensheviks in the minority: *even* Levitsky *himself* has had to admit that the masses of the workers sided with the Bolsheviks.

And, finally, it has now defeated liquidationism and, as a result, has taken the correct road of the broad struggle—illumined by Marxist theory and summed up in uncurtailed slogans—of the advanced class for the advanced historical aims of mankind.

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BILL ON THE EQUALITY OF NATIONS AND THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES[145]

1. The boundaries of Russia's administrative divisions, rural and urban (villages, volosts, uyezds, gubernias, parts and sections of towns, suburbs, etc.), shall be revised on the basis of a register of present-day economic conditions and the national composition of the population.

2. This register shall be made by commissions elected by the local population on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot with proportional representation; national minorities too small (under proportional representation) to elect one commission member shall elect a commission member with a consultative voice.

3. The new boundaries shall be endorsed by the central parliament of the country.

4. Local self-government shall be introduced in all areas of the country without exception, on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot with proportional representation; areas with specific geographical, living or economic conditions or a special national composition of the population shall have the right to form autonomous regions with autonomous regional Diets.

5. The limits of jurisdiction exercised by the autonomous Diets and local self-governing bodies shall be determined by the central parliament of the country.

6. All nations in the state are absolutely equal, and all privileges enjoyed by any one nation or any one language are held to be inadmissible and anti-constitutional.

7. The local self-governing bodies and autonomous Diets shall determine the language in which business is to be conducted by state and public establishments in a given area or region, all-national minorities having the right to demand absolute safeguards for their language on the basis of the principle of equality, for example, the right to receive replies from state and public establishments in the language in which they are addressed, etc. Measures by Zemstvos, towns, etc., which infringe the equality of languages enjoyed by the national minorities in financial, administrative, legal and all other fields, shall be considered non-valid and subject to repeal on a protest filed by any citizen of the state, regardless of domicile.

8. Each self-governing unit of the state, rural and urban, shall elect, on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot with proportional representation, boards of education to take care, wholly and autonomously, of expenditures on all the cultural and educational needs of the population subject to the control and management of the town and Zemstvo bodies.

9. In territorial units with a mixed population the number of members on the boards of education shall not be less than twenty. This number (20) may be increased by order of the self-governing bodies and autonomous Diets. Areas shall be considered as having a mixed population where a national minority constitutes up to five per cent of the population.

10. Every national minority of a given self-governing unit that is too small to elect, under proportional representation, one member of the board of education shall be entitled to elect a member with a consultative voice.

11. The proportional share of the funds expended on the cultural and educational needs of the national minorities in a given area shall not be less than the proportional share of the national minorities in the whole population of the given area.

12. A census of the population, with due account of the native language of citizens, shall be carried out every ten years throughout the state, and every five years in regions and areas with a mixed population.

13. All measures by boards of education which in any way infringe the complete equality of nations and languages of the local population or the proportionality of expenditures on cultural and educational needs in conformity with the share of the national minorities in the population, shall be considered non-valid and subject to repeal on a protest of any citizen of the state, regardless of domicile.

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"NEIGHBOURING SQUIRES"

There are certain winged words which most aptly express rather complex phenomena. Among these should undoubtedly be included the statement made by a certain landlord, member of the Right majority in the Duma, in connection with Goremykin's speech during the historic session of April 22.

"*How nice it would be to have squire Goremykin for a neighbour!*"

These words, uttered on the day the workers' and peasants' deputies were ejected from the Duma, are a very useful reminder now that these deputies have resumed their seats. These words admirably describe the force which the democrats have to contend with within the Duma and outside it.

The petty squire who uttered these winged words spoke them in jest but he unwittingly voiced a truth that was more serious and profound than he had intended. Indeed, take the whole of this Fourth Duma, the whole of this majority of Rights and Octobrists, and all the "bigwigs" in the Council of State—what are they all if not "neighbouring squires"?

In Russia 194 privy councillors own 3,103,579 dessiatines of land, an average of over 20,000 dessiatines per privy councillor. And all the big landowners in Russia, numbering less than 30,000, own 70,000,000 dessiatines of land. It is this class that forms the majority in the Duma, in the Council of State and among high government officials, to say nothing of the Zemstvo and local administrations. They are all "neighbouring quires".

In our capitalist age these "neighbouring squires" are increasingly becoming factory owners, distillers, sugar manufacturers, and so forth; they are increasingly becoming shareholders in all kinds of commercial, industrial, financial,

and railway undertakings. The highest nobility are becoming closely interwoven with the big bourgeoisie.

These "neighbouring squires" are the best *class* organisation in Russia, for they are organised, not only as neighbours, not only in associations, but also as a state force. They occupy all the most important institutions in the land, which are fashioned "in their own image", to suit their own "needs" and interests. True, our state system has very important features of its own, attributable to the military history of Russia, and so forth, features which may sometimes displease even the class of the landed gentry. Nevertheless, by and large, the Great-Russian landed gentry set a splendid pattern of class organisation!

Our bourgeoisie make little use of this pattern. They dare not think, for example, of organising *their own* class into a state power. But the proletariat, organising as a class, has never forgotten and never will forget the splendid pattern set by the "neighbouring squires"....

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THE NARODNIKS AND "FACTIONAL COERCION"

The more the working-class movement develops and the greater unity it shows in action, the louder do the intellectualist grouplets, who are isolated from the masses, shout about "factionalism", "Pravdist contagion", "factional blindness", and so forth. These people little suspect that in doing so they are issuing themselves with a *testimonium paupertatis*. What they take for a sort of natural calamity, which can only be loudly bewailed, is really a sign of the maturity and consistency of our working-class movement.

Nothing has exposed the gross falsity of these intellectualist outcries against the workers' "factionalism" so much as the recent open elections of the workers' insurance representatives.

Take the Narodnik newspaper *Mysl Truda*.[146] *After* all the insurance elections in St. Petersburg are over, we read in the issue of that paper for April 20 a ranting article which, with a serious air, argues that on no account must there be any "yielding to the factional coercion [!] of the Pravdists".

Factional coercion! What presumption on the part of this Narodnik paper to make such a demagogic statement!

Just think, reader. Open elections by the workers take place. The workers hold an opinion poll among themselves as to the political trends of the participants. The following unchallenged figures of the political composition of the electors are published for general information: Pravdists 37, liquidators 7, Narodniks 4, and unspecified 5. The workers, naturally, elect a majority of Pravdists. (The minority, too, was represented—the Mensheviks, not the liquidators.) And after this the Narodnik newspaper makes an uproar about "factional coercion".

You are simply making yourselves look ridiculous, Narodnik gentlemen. What you have done is to clearly demonstrate how utterly *meaningless* that threadbare *cliché* "factionalism" is. You have overlooked two simple figures—37 and 4. Only 4 out of 53 worker electors were Narodniks, that is, a mere 7 per cent. Apparently, the Narodniks think the workers ought to elect their representatives not by a majority vote, but by a *minority*. To please the Narodniks, 37 worker electors should have been equated with 4. Thirty-seven equals four—that, strictly speaking, is what the good "non-factional" Narodniks are trying to din into the workers. No wonder the workers cannot make head or tail of this profound Narodnik wisdom.

There is a limit to everything, "non-factional" Narodniks. By shouting about the "factional coercion" of the majority when you have 4 electors out of 53 you are only proving one thing, namely, that you do not respect the will of the majority, that in raving against "factionalism" you are trying to *thwart the will of the vast majority of the workers*. You, and you alone, are actually trying to practice coercion of the overwhelming majority by an insignificant minority.

By pursuing the paltry and unprincipled policy of a coterie that is isolated from the masses, you, with your ranting against "factional coercion", are trying to act upon the workers' nerves and to *extort* from them, by this unbecoming trick, satisfaction of your parochial interests. If there is any "factionalism" of the worst possible kind, it is exemplified in the behaviour of the liquidator and Narodnik circles, who are trying to thwart the will of the workers.

We see the same picture in connection with the insurance elections in so big a centre as *Riga*.

A meeting of the sick benefit societies is held to nominate candidates for the Gubernia Insurance Board. Twenty-one sick benefit societies are represented. There is a sharp struggle of political trends. On one side—the liquidators, Narodniks, non-party people and several trade unions. On the other—the Pravdists. Lots of speakers from both sides take the floor. In the end the Pravdist list of candidates receives 44 votes, while the bloc of all the others receives 20. (These figures are from the same source—*Mysl*

Truda No. 2.) The Pravdists thus have a majority of over two-thirds.

After this the Narodniks again start their plaint about "factionalism" and "factional coercion".

Notice the word-juggling. The Narodniks, as we know, have never been a *section* of Social-Democracy. The Narodniks and the Social-Democrats have always been *two* separate *parties*, with programmes, tactics and organisations of their own. The struggle between the Social-Democrats and the Narodniks is a struggle between political *parties*, not a struggle between sections of a party. "Factionalism" has nothing to do with it.

It is clear enough that in vociferating against "factionalism" the liquidators and "conciliators" are merely playing into the hands of the *enemies* of the workers' party, are merely sowing chaos and disunity, are confusing terms, and bamboozling the workers

The outcry against "factionalism" has become a system. The enemies of the Marxists are deliberately using it to bamboozle the workers. When some decision adopted by the workers is not to the liking of some intellectual or group of intellectuals, the outcry is raised, "Help! 'Factionalism'! Help! 'Factional coercion'!"

You will astonish nobody with that sort of thing, gentlemen. When the splitter and liberal, F. D., in *Severnaya Likvidatorskaya Gazeta*[147] calls God to witness in every other line that he is for "unity"; when Trotsky in his superintellectual highbrow mouthpiece rants about "factional emancipation"; when the petty-bourgeois quasi-socialists of *Mysl Truda* asseverate that they stand for unity, the workers tell them: whoever stands for true unity of the working-class movement must submit to the majority of the class-conscious workers and not dare oppose the Marxist programme and Marxist tactics.

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CORRUPTING THE WORKERS WITH REFINED NATIONALISM

The more strongly the working-class movement develops the more frantic are the attempts by the bourgeoisie and the feudalists to suppress it or break it up. Both these methods—suppression by force and disintegration by bourgeois influence—are constantly employed all over the world, in all countries, and one or another of these methods is adopted alternately by the different parties of the ruling classes.

In Russia, particularly after 1905, when the more intelligent members of the bourgeoisie realised that brute force alone was ineffective, all sorts of "progressive" bourgeois parties and groups have been more and more often resorting to the method of *dividing* the workers by advocating different bourgeois ideas and doctrines designed to weaken the struggle of the working class.

One such idea is refined nationalism, which advocates the division and splitting up of the proletariat on the most plausible and specious pretexts, as for example, that of protecting the interests of "national culture", "national autonomy, or independence", and so on, and so forth.

The class-conscious workers fight hard against *every kind* of nationalism, both the crude, violent, Black-Hundred nationalism, and that most refined nationalism which preaches the equality of nations *together* with ... the *splitting up* of the workers' cause, the workers' organisations and the working-class movement *according to* nationality. Unlike all the varieties of the nationalist bourgeoisie, the class-conscious workers, carrying out the decisions of the recent (summer 1913) conference of the Marxists, stand, not only for the most complete, consistent and fully applied *equality*

of nations and languages, but also for the *amalgamation* of the workers of the different nationalities in *united* proletarian organisations of every kind.

Herein lies the fundamental distinction between the national programme of Marxism and that of any bourgeoisie, be it the most "advanced".

Recognition of the equality of nations and languages is important to Marxists, not only because they are the most consistent democrats. The interests of proletarian solidarity and comradely unity in the workers' class struggle call for the fullest equality of nations with a view to removing every trace of national distrust, estrangement, suspicion and enmity. And full equality implies the repudiation of all privileges for any one language and the recognition of the *right* of self-determination for all nations.

To the bourgeoisie, however, the demand for national equality very often amounts in practice to advocating national exclusiveness and chauvinism; they very often couple it with *advocacy* of the division and estrangement of nations. This is *absolutely* incompatible with proletarian *internationalism*, which advocates, not only *closer relations* between nations, but the *amalgamation* of the workers of all nationalities in a given state in *united* proletarian organisations. That is why Marxists emphatically condemn so-called "cultural-national autonomy", i.e., the idea that educational affairs should be *taken out* of the hands of the state and transferred to the *respective* nationalities. This plan means that in questions of "national culture" educational affairs are to be split up in *national associations* according to the nationalities in the given state federation, each with its own *separate* Diet, educational budgets, school boards, and educational institutions.

This is a plan of refined nationalism, which corrupts and divides the working class. To this plan (of the Bundists, liquidators and Narodniks, i.e., of the various petty-bourgeois groups), the Marxists contrapose the principle of complete equality of nations and languages and go to the extent of denying the necessity of an official language; at the same time they advocate the closest possible relations between the nations, uniform *state* institutions for all nations, uniform school boards, a uniform education policy

(secular education!) and the unity of the workers of the different nations in the struggle against the *nationalism of every national bourgeoisie*, a nationalism which is presented in the form of the slogan "national culture" for the purpose of deceiving simpletons.

Let the petty-bourgeois nationalists—the Bundists, the liquidators, the Narodniks and the writers for *Dzvin*—openly advocate their principle of refined bourgeois nationalism; that is their right. But they should not try to fool the workers, as Madam V. O.[148] does, for example, in issue No. 35 of *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*, where she assures her readers that *Za Pravdu* is *opposed* to instruction in schools being given in the native languages!

That is gross slander. The Pravdists not only recognise this right, but are *more consistent* in recognising it than anyone else. The Pravdists, who identified themselves with the conference of Marxists, which declared that *no compulsory official language was necessary*, were the *first* in Russia to recognise *fully* the right to use the native language!

It is crass ignorance to confuse instruction in the native language with "dividing educational affairs within a single state according to nationality", with "cultural-national autonomy", with "taking educational affairs out of the hands of the state".

Nowhere in the world are Marxists (or even democrats) opposed to instruction being conducted in the native language. And *nowhere in the world* have Marxists adopted the programme of "cultural-national autonomy"; Austria is the *only* country in which it *was proposed*.

The example of Finland, as quoted by Madam V. O., is an argument against herself, for in that country the *equality of nations and languages* (which we recognise unreservedly and more consistently than anybody) is recognised and carried out, but *there is no question there about taking educational affairs out of the hands of the state*, about separate national associations to deal with all educational affairs, about partitioning up the school system of a country with national barriers, and so forth.

Put Pravdy No. 82,
May 10, 1914
Signed: *V. I.*

Published according to the text in *Put Pravdy*

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The present political situation in Russia is marked by the growth of the strike movement in general, as well as by an increase in the number of political strikes (for example, May 1st strikes), and by the growth of the Pravdist trend among the workers (the Insurance Board elections in the two capitals, and the election of the All-Russia Insurance Board provided additional proof of this).

The connection between the nature of the working-class movement and the trend which the overwhelming majority of class-conscious workers have recognised as *their own* is obvious and requires no special explanation.

Another feature of the present political situation is the fact that a "Left bloc" is taking exceptionally clear and distinct shape, i.e., the emergence of joint action by proletarian and bourgeois democrats (Trudoviks and liquidators) against both the Purishkeviches and treacherous bourgeois liberalism. The obstruction organised by the Left in the Duma, and the suspension of the Social-Democrats and Trudoviks by the votes of the Rights, the Octobrists and a section of the Progressists, with the Cadets *abstaining from voting*, have clearly shown what this "Left bloc" is. Proletarian democrats have not weakened their independence by a jot, nor have they retreated from their proletarian, Pravdist line. The only ones to support this line against the liberals have been the Trudoviks and liquidators, although they both often waver and incline towards the liberals.

Lastly, the present political situation is marked by vacillation and discontent among the bourgeois classes. This was expressed in the speeches and resolutions of the Commercial and Industrial Congress. They revealed obvious discon-

tent with the government, and an obvious mood of opposition.

This also found expression in the anti-Cabinet motion adopted in the Duma by the Octobrists—the Zemstvo people and the liberals—during the debate on the estimates of the Ministry of the Interior. Jubilant at the Octobrists having adopted "their" point of view, the Cadets forget to add that they themselves had adopted the *Octobrist* point of view!

The resolution adopted by the Fourth Duma expresses a quite definite counter-revolutionary and imperialist point of view. In this resolution the government's policy is condemned because

> "administrative tyranny all over the country is causing discontent and unrest among large, tranquil [i.e., bourgeois reactionary and landlord] sections of the population, and is thereby stimulating the rise and growth of anti-government tendencies".

The Octobrists are referring to democracy. The Cadets have again and again publicly renounced democracy. So much the better, for they never have been, and never can be, democrats; they merely deceived democracy when they undertook to represent it. Democracy in Russia cannot take a single step forward unless it sees through the bourgeois liberal frauds perpetrated by the Cadets.

To sum up.

Continued growth of the working-class movement. Greater unity between the majority of the workers and Pravdism.

Definite emergence of a "Left bloc", expressed in joint action by proletarian and bourgeois democrats (Trudoviks and liquidators) against the Rights and against the Cadets.

Disintegration, vacillation, mutual distrust and discontent within the Third of June system, among the landlords and reactionary bourgeoisie. "They" accuse one another—the Purishkeviches accuse the liberals, and the liberals the Purishkeviches—of encouraging and accelerating the new revolution.

Such is the situation.

Put Pravdy No. 85,
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WORKERS' UNITY AND INTELLECTUALIST "TRENDS"

In the course of their movement's progress, the class-conscious workers constantly look back on the road this movement has travelled and constantly consider whether it is the right one, and whether it can possibly be improved.

Of all the classes in Russia, not a single one, not even the educated and wealthy bourgeoisie, discusses its tactics, that is, the direction and the methods of its movement, so outspokenly, clearly, and as far as possible openly as the working class does. Only people who are shallow-minded or who fear the participation of the broad masses in politics can think that the open and heated controversies over tactics that are constantly to be seen in the working-class press are inappropriate or unnecessary. As a matter of fact, it is these heated controversies that help and teach all the workers to discuss their own, labour, policy from every angle, and to evolve a firm, distinct and definite class line for the movement.

The workers employed at the Stationery Office recently gave a very convincing demonstration of what the attitude of the class-conscious workers is, and should be, towards controversies over tactics,

In *Put Pravdy* No. 68, they wrote: "We wish to point out to comrades in the Stationery Office who responded to the call of the supporters of *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*, and made equal collections for both newspapers in the belief that this was a step towards unity, that we consider this step wrong, one that will not lead to the unity of the working-class movement, but, on the contrary, will put off

the day when the workers will unite under the single banner of Marxism. Let us take the following example. Let us assume that two men are arguing heatedly over a question that concerns us, that this argument annoys us, and we want to put a stop to it. What should we do under the circumstances? Clearly, we should ascertain which of the two is in the right and take his side; the one who is wrong will then see that he is mistaken, or, if he does not see his mistake, will peter out and stop arguing. But if we support and encourage both disputants, the argument will never cease."

This is what the workers of the Stationery Office wrote, Their simple explanation, which every worker understands, is unassailable.

"Equal" assistance or the desire to merge, or "unite, *all* trends" (which, incidentally, is what Duma sympathisers with liquidationism are saying) actually amounts to a desire to order the workers about from outside in the belief that the workers themselves are unable to "grasp these things". Any little group of intellectuals can publish a pamphlet or a paltry journal, and proclaim themselves a "trend", as, for example, the group of the anti-Marxist philosopher Bogdanov, or Trotsky's group, or N. N. Himmer's, which vacillates between the Narodniks and the Marxists, and so forth.

There are any number of "trends", and the workers are told: help them all "equally", recognise "*all trends*"!

Naturally, any worker who is at all class-conscious will ask: What is the argument about? About *my* struggle? About *my* policy and tactics? About *my* Party?

If so, then I will work it all out for myself, gentlemen, and I will proclaim as *my own* only those tactics I approve of and agree with.

This is as clear as daylight.

It is only because there is no free press in Russia and because there are still lots of workers (especially in the provinces) who have seen one or another working-class newspaper for the first time and are as yet quite "unable to grasp" the problems of working-class policy—it is only because of this that it is possible in Russia for the intellectuals to try to run the workers by appealing

to them to recognise "all trends" and to assist them "equally"

In the market-place it often happens that the vendor who shouts loudest and calls God to witness is the one with the shoddiest goods for sale.

In the market-place of intellectualist fuss and bustle it often happens that those who shout loudest against running the workers are the very intellectuals who try to do so and proclaim the formation of a countless number of anti-Marxist and anti-proletarian "trends".

Take St. Petersburg. No man in his right mind can deny that, compared with the provinces, the workers in St. Petersburg are more cultured and intelligent, more accustomed to and capable of independently "grasping" all questions connected with the theory of Marxism and the practice of the working-class movement.

What do we find there?

The St. Petersburg workers did *grasp* the question, and recognised the *Pravdist* trend as the right one.

The overwhelming majority of the workers in St. Petersburg declared in favour of Pravdism and proved by action that they recognise *only* this "trend" as *their own*.

In the provinces the Pravdists preponderate to a lesser extent, but even so they still do preponderate. This has been proved during the last two years by the facts about the workers' groups, facts which are "unpalatable" to the opponents of Pravdism, but which remain facts for all that.

The majority of class-conscious workers discussed the question, weighed the arguments for and against the various tactics, and recognised the Pravdist tactics as *their own*. Attempts to thwart and to disrupt the unity and will of this majority of workers are now being made by the founders of the intellectualist "trends" of liquidationism, Trotskyism (*Borba*), the mixture of Narodism and Marxism (Mr. Himmer's *Sovremennik*[149]), and others.

We are convinced that all these intellectualist "trends", preaching anti-Marxist ideas or urging concessions to them, will fall to the ground upon impact with the class-consciousness and the will of the advanced Marxist workers. The example of St. Petersburg confirms our conviction.

It is highly amusing to hear the intellectualist founders of groups and "trends" that are trying to disrupt the unity of the workers vociferating about "unity". They are against unity of the workers, which has been achieved in fact, and are for unity of the intellectualist trends, which is promised in word.

Put Pravdy No. 85,
May 13, 1914

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THE LEFT NARODNIKS

The Left Narodniks in *Stoikaya Mysl* No. 20, and the Narodniks in *Russkoye Bogatstvo* No. 4, have attacked the Narodnik *Russkiye Vedomosti* for having declared in favour of the freedom of mobilisation, i.e., the purchase, sale, and mortgaging of allotment land.

This question is interesting because it strikingly confirms the Marxist appraisal of the extremely backward and reactionary character of Narodnik theory. The practical significance of this question is another reason for us to deal with it.

In a society in which commodity production prevails, every small farmer is inevitably and increasingly drawn into the sphere of *exchange* and becomes increasingly dependent on the *market*, not only the local and national, but the *world* market as well. Each day of economic progress throughout the world, each mile of new railway laid, each new rural worker who migrates to the town or goes to work in a factory in search of "earnings", each new agricultural machine that is introduced, in short, literally each step in world economic life draws the most remote localities into the sphere of exchange. Millions and millions of phenomena observed day by day prove that production for exchange, commodity production, capitalism, are growing in all parts of the world, and all countries without exception. That production for exchange and simple commodity production are evolving into capitalism is another phenomenon confirmed by millions and millions of daily economic observations in every village, in every trade, and in every handicraft.

Clearly, every peasant who finds himself in this *milieu* of world economy is a *commodity producer* and with every

day becomes more and more dependent on the market, selling his products, buying implements of production and articles of consumption, hiring labourers, or hiring himself out as a labourer. Under these circumstances, since land is private property, freedom to buy, sell and mortgage land is an essential condition for the development of capitalism. Attempts to restrict this freedom can lead to nothing except a thousand and one devices for evading the law, to a thousand and one obstacles in the form of red tape and bureaucracy, to the *deterioration* of the conditions of the peasants. Attempts to check world capitalism by means of laws or regulations restricting freedom to mobilise the land are just as witless as are attempts to stop a train by means of a wattle fence. To defend such attempts means defending serf bondage, stagnation and *decay* in the rural areas.

Anyone who has learnt the ABC of political economy knows that Russia is undergoing a change-over from the system of serf-ownership to capitalism.

There is *no* "third" system of national economy in Russia. Both the serf-owning system and capitalism signify the exploitation of labour; *in this sense both* systems signify "the noose and bondage". But the characteristic features of the serf-owning system are: age-long stagnation, downtrodden and ignorant toilers, and a low level of labour productivity. The characteristic features of capitalism are: very rapid economic and social development, an enormous increase in the productivity of labour, elimination of the slave mentality among the toilers and the awakening of their ability to unite and to take an intelligent part in the affairs of life.

Hence, to call capitalism a noose and bondage, and at the same time to *advocate*, as the Narodniks do, *retarding* the development of capitalism, means, *in fact*, defending the survivals of serfdom, barbarism and stagnation.

Marxists have always called and will always call the Left Narodniks "socialist-reactionaries", for advocating restrictions to the freedom of mobilisation.

We advise class-conscious workers to give battle to the Left Narodniks and all other kinds of Narodniks, precisely on this question! It can safely be said that the Left Narodniks will be backed by dotards, who, in addition to defending

restrictions to the freedom of mobilisation, defend belief in the devil, servility, flogging, cohabitation with daughters-in-law, and "instructing" the womenfolk with a cudgel.

We, on the other hand, will have the backing of the entire fresh and literate young generation, who do not believe in devils. It is sufficient to quote just one passage from Mr. Peshekhonov to have this generation treat such people in the way they deserve.

"I said," writes Mr. Peshekhonov, "that the peasants are not able to make sufficiently sensible use of mortgage loans. And this, of course, is quite understandable, since labour economy does not permit it...."

The peasants are not "sensible", if you please! The feudalists and liberal government officials are "able", if you please, to decide *for* the peasant!

This, then is the interesting, practical, small but plain question that concerns us closely. This is the sort of question on which the Left-Narodnik gentlemen should be ridiculed at every meeting attended by alert and politically-conscious peasants.

"Labour" economy is the empty, sentimental catchword of the intellectual. Every peasant knows perfectly well that you cannot live without buying and selling. This simple fact scatters to the winds all talk about "labour" economy.

* * *

The Left Narodniks throw dust in the eyes of the "muzhik" by confusing the question of freedom of mobilisation with the advocacy of "taking the land out of commodity circulation and converting it into public property" (*Stoikaya Mysl* No. 20).

In the first place, only crass ignoramuses can be unaware of the fact that "converting the land into public property" does *not* mean taking the land out of commodity circulation, *but the opposite*; it means *drawing it into* that circulation more freely and rapidly, and on a larger scale.

Learn the political economy of Marx, Messrs. the "socialist-reactionaries"!

Secondly, as Marx demonstrated and proved, the *radical* bourgeoisie can put forward, and have often put forward,

the demand for the "conversion of the land into public property". This cannot be disputed. But only a conservative bourgeois, not a radical, can think that this conversion can be facilitated by the advocacy of *feudal* restrictions to the freedom of mobilisation.

As long as land is private property, any constraints imposed upon its mobilisation are harmful and reactionary. There is no way of achieving the ideals of labour democracy other than by ensuring the most rapid elimination of the traces of serfdom and the most rapid development of capitalism.

* * *

Marxists have always said and now repeat that the peasants' democratic views must be *divested of feudal* survivals. The Narodniks deserve support *only insofar* as they oppose serfdom and support democracy. But insofar as they defend oppression and backwardness, petty-bourgeois narrow-mindedness and selfishness, they are the greatest of reactionaries.

Put Pravdy No. 86,
May 14, 1914

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THE LIQUIDATORS AND MALINOVSKY'S BIOGRAPHY

In their numerous articles concerning Malinovsky's resignation,[150] the liquidators assert, among other slanderous things, that Malinovsky was brought into prominence only by the "splitting activities" of the Pravdists, that Malinovsky was a political "weathercock", and so on and so forth.

Below we quote, word for word, an *editorial* article in the liquidationist newspaper *Luch*, which the liquidators published the day after Malinovsky was elected to the Duma, i.e., at a time when the liquidators did not yet have to stoop to foul lies in their struggle against their opponents.

The following is the full text of the article (*Luch*, October 28, 1912, No. 37):

R. V. MALINOVSKY
(Deputy representing the Moscow workers)

The deputy elected by the workers of the Moscow Gubernia is Roman Malinovsky, former secretary of the St. Petersburg Metalworkers' Union. In his person the Social-Democratic group in the Duma acquires for the first time a prominent practical worker in the trade union movement, who in the grim years of reaction played an active part in the legal working-class organisations.

Malinovsky has been a member of the Union since its foundation on May 1, 1906. At the beginning of 1907 he was elected Secretary of the Union and held that responsible post continuously until November 1909, when he was arrested at a preliminary meeting of the first workers' delegation to the Temperance Congress. Deportation from St. Petersburg interrupted his activities in the Union, but he continued to maintain ideological contact with the organisation

The years of Malinovsky's secretaryship was a period in the life of the Union in which it had to contend, not only with severe external conditions, but also with the apathy of the workers themselves. Malinovsky's personal example served as an effective weapon against this "internal enemy".

His energy seemed inexhaustible. He undertook the responsible task of leading a strike with the same ardour as he carried out the painstaking work of organisation.

And, what is most important, Malinovsky always strove to link up this day-by-day work with the general tasks of the working-class movement in the struggle around the problems of the day, never losing sight of the ultimate aim.

Trade union work took up a great deal of Malinovsky's time and energies, but his activities did not end there. In one degree or another he has participated in all the workers' actions of the past few years. He represented the St. Petersburg workers at the Co-operative Congress in Moscow in 1908. At Easter 1909, he represented the St. Petersburg metalworkers at the First Congress of Factory Panel Doctors, where he read a paper on old age and disability insurance. The metalworkers also elected him their delegate to the Temperance Congress, but his arrest prevented him from attending.

In Moscow Malinovsky's activities have of necessity been more restricted. But here, too, he has not been idle; he took an active part in the preparations for the Second Congress of Factory Panel Doctors, and at one time was closely associated with the workers' co-operative movement, etc.

The new Moscow deputy has always shown a lively interest in the political working-class movement too.

In his convictions he is a Bolshevik. But this did not prevent him in 1908, when, after the London Congress, the Bolsheviks tried to secure Party representation on the executives of the trade unions, from opposing his political friends for the sake of unity of the trade union movement. It did not prevent him at the First Congress of Factory Panel Doctors from protesting against the disruptive conduct of the Moscow Bolsheviks in the interests of unity of the workers' delegation.

There is every reason to believe that the activities of the new workers' deputy will be as fruitful in the political field as they have been in the trade union movement.

Such were the complimentary terms in which the *liquidators themselves wrote about the Bolshevik Malinovsky two years ago*. Could they have written otherwise, considering the work that Malinovsky was doing in the sight of all the workers? *Even* the liquidators, who at that time were already his political opponents, could not but treat him with profound respect. They spoke of his preceding activities, which had already brought him to the fore, in terms that were most flattering to Malinovsky. They held him up as an example to others There was not a word about his being a "weathercock". Nor was the fairy-tale yet invented that he had been returned to the Duma as a candidate of liquidationist "unity".

A fortnight later the first meeting of the united Social-Democratic group in the Duma was held. The liquidators themselves unanimously elected Malinovsky as the vice-chairman of the group, in exactly the same way as they had previously supported his candidacy as chairman of workers' delegations to public congresses (the Congress of Factory Panel Doctors, for example), and so forth. After the Duma elections, the most prominent member of the August bloc (the pillar of today's journal *Borba*) wrote letters to Malinovsky couched in the most flattering terms, in which he all but called him a future Bebel.

But when it was discovered that Malinovsky sharply opposed liquidationism, when he took a step which he himself shortly afterwards had to admit was a profoundly erroneous one, the liquidators poured upon the ex-deputy, upon whom they had previously showered their praise, the filthiest slander they could collect in the garbage heaps of the Black-Hundred newspapers.

Everybody knows that with his political background and talents Malinovsky could have played an important role in any political group, and that the liquidators would have honoured him had he associated himself with them. But the liquidators are not ashamed to say that Malinovsky was pushed into the forefront by the "split".

It makes one *blush with shame* to see people using a man's private misfortune in their struggle against a hostile political trend. We have no desire to compare Malinovsky with Khrustalev[151]; but what would the liquidators have said, after what happened to Khrustalev, had their political opponents made the fate of this one man an excuse for discrediting Menshevism, and "used" the Khrustalev case against the entire Menshevik trend? And yet it is common knowledge that Khrustalev was a Menshevik, that he was their prominent representative at the London Congress, in the press, and so forth. It is common knowledge that at one time the Mensheviks were proud of Khrustalev.

The Pravdists have no lack of political opponents; but *not a single* hostile newspaper—with the exception, perhaps, of the Dubrovinites and Purishkevich's paper—has sunk so low as the liquidationist newspaper has sunk these days. Even the liberals have behaved far more decently.

To hurl the most incredible insults at an opponent and then to end up with a long-winded appeal for ... unity with this very slandered opponent—such are the mean, canting and despicable tactics of all these Martovs and Dans.

Their disgusting conduct in connection with Malinovsky's resignation should open the eyes even of the blind.

Rabochy No. 2,
May 22, 1914
Signed: *Pravdist*

Published according to
the text in *Rabochy*

TWO PATHS

In an article which attracted the attention of the class-conscious workers, An, leader of the Caucasian liquidators, recently announced that he disagreed with *Luch* and its successors, disagreed with their *opportunist* tactics.

This statement implies the *break-up* of the "August bloc", a fact no subterfuges or tricks can refute.

At present, however, we wish to draw the readers' attention to something else, namely, to An's argument about Russia's two paths of development. He writes:

> "*Luch* bases its tactic on the possibility of reform, it aims at reform. *Pravda* bases its tactic on a 'storm', it aims at a break-up."

From this An draws the conclusion that the two tactics have to be united. This conclusion is wrong. It is not a Marxist conclusion.

Let us examine the matter.

By what is Russia's *path*, the nature and speed of her development, determined?

By the alignment of social forces, by the resultant of the class struggle.

That is obvious.

What social forces operate in Russia? What is the line of the class struggle?

Russia is a capitalist country; she cannot but develop capitalistically. Russia is now undergoing a bourgeois-democratic transformation, a release from the serf-owning system, emancipation. Under conditions of world capitalism Russia's emancipation is inevitable. What we do not yet know is the resultant of the social forces that are working towards emancipation. These forces, in the main, are: 1) bourgeois monarchist liberalism (the capitalists and some of the landlords of the Progressist, Cadet and partly Octo-

brist parties); 2) the bourgeois democrats (the peasantry, urban petty bourgeois, intellectuals, and so on); 3) the proletariat.

Each of these classes acts—we take only the action of the masses, of course—in line with the economic position of the given class. There can be *only one* resultant.

In what sense, then, can we speak of Russia's two paths? Only in the sense that, until the outcome of the struggle, we do not and shall not know this resultant, which will approach *one of the two* simplest and clearest lines visible at once to everybody. The first line is "reform", the second a "storm".

Reform is the name given to changes which leave the power in the country in the hands of the old ruling class. Changes of the opposite order are called "storms". The class interests of bourgeois liberalism demand *only* reforms, since the bourgeoisie is more afraid of "storms" than of reaction, and wishes to keep the old feudalist institutions (the bureaucracy, two chambers, and so on) as protection against the workers. The peasantry in all countries of the world without exception, Russia included, vacillates, in the matter of bourgeois-democratic reform, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Such vacillation is inevitable, since the peasants are opposed to the landlords and serfdom while themselves being petty proprietors and petty bourgeois.

As for the proletariat, its interests, which coincide with those of the vast majority of the population, of all the exploited, move in a direction that is *not* reformist, along a path which is described in Russia as that of the "three pillars".

If the majority of the peasants and the population follow the liberals, the "path" will be the worst, the least advantageous to the workers and the exploited, and the most painful to them. If the majority of the peasants and the population follow the workers, the reverse will be the case. One resultant or the other will be fully revealed only by the final outcome of the struggle.

We now see the true implications of An's vague and confused argument. He has sensed rather than understood the liquidators' opportunism and their betrayal of the working class.

The liquidators are reformists. They pursue, in effect, a *liberal-labour*, not a Marxist workers' policy. They are trying to subordinate the workers to the bourgeoisie.

The Pravdists are pursuing a Marxist and proletarian policy by defending the interests of the working class in the matter of transforming Russia. Do the Pravdists overlook the possibilities of reform? This question is easily answered by referring to the facts. Take insurance reform, which is something real, and not dreamt up. Everyone sees that the Pravdists seized on this ten times more strongly than the liquidators did: see *Voprosy Strakhovania*[152] and the results of the elections to the All-Russia Insurance Board.

Take the "partial demands" of the economic struggle during strikes. Everyone knows that the Pravdists are conducting this real and not dreamt-up campaign a thousand times more intensely and energetically.

If there were a group that denied the use of reforms and partial improvements, we *could not* join it, because that would be a non-Marxist policy, a policy harmful to the workers.

Neither could we join the liquidators, because repudiation and abuse of the "underground", repudiation and relegation of the two "pillars", the advocacy in present-day Russia of a struggle for a legal party and the possibility of political reforms—all this is a betrayal of the working class, desertion to the bourgeoisie.

The Pravdists, in the words of An, "aim at a storm and break-up" but, as the facts show, miss no opportunity, however slight, of supporting real reforms and partial improvements and explaining to the masses the sham of reformism. This is the only correct, the only truly Marxist tactic, and that is why it has been adopted by the overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers throughout Russia (this has been proved by the facts, by the number of workers' groups).

Only adherents of petty-bourgeois democracy, the Narodniks and the liquidators, are vainly fighting against the workers, against Pravdism.

Rabochy No. 3,
May 24, 1914

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the text in *Rabochy*

PLEKHANOV, WHO KNOWS NOT WHAT HE WANTS

Plekhanov, as we know, has often found himself in an awkward fix on questions of tactics and organisation. During the past eleven years (since the autumn of 1903, when he went over from the Bolsheviks to the Mensheviks) he has repeatedly and comically made a muddle of these questions.

He is beginning to get muddled again, a sad circumstance we feel obliged to acquaint our readers with. But first of all, we will recall the great service that Plekhanov rendered during the difficult years (1909-11). He praised the "underground" and staunchly supported the Party decisions on combating liquidationism. He exposed the opportunism of the liquidators and their revival of Economism (a bourgeois trend in Marxism in 1894-1902). He showed that, by repudiating the "underground", the liquidators were betraying the Party. He quite rightly explained that "Mr. Potresov" was a Judas, and that the apostles were stronger *without* Judas than *with* him.

These were clear, definite and integral ideas, fully in keeping with the decisions of 1908 and 1910.

But look at Plekhanov's new *volte-face*. In the newspaper *Yedinstvo*[153] he now denounces the Pravdists for their "factionalism" and "usurpation", and asserts that we have "not one working-class press but two".

This is not very literate, but the meaning is clear. A liquidationist newspaper is declared a working-class newspaper! Fancy that! And yet this, selfsame Plekhanov had argued that the resolution declaring liquidationism to be a manifestation of *bourgeois influence on the proletariat* was a correct one.

It is useless for Plekhanov to try to forget this. The workers will only ridicule such forgetfulness.

The liquidationist press is *not* a workers' press, but one that serves as a vehicle of *bourgeois influence on the proletariat*. This has been definitely and clearly stated in the decision of the "entire Marxist body",[154] and the liquidators are to this day strikingly corroborating it (see, for example, the concordant remarks of Bulkin and Martov *against* the "underground" in *Nasha Zarya*, 1914, No. 3).

What is the meaning of Plekhanov's appeals for unity with the liquidators? Unity with the group of publicists who repudiate the "underground" in true Potresov style? To advocate such unity one must *advocate repudiation of the "underground"*!

Plekhanov has got into such a muddle that he does not know where he stands.

The liquidators have made it abundantly clear in *Nasha Zarya*, in *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* (run by F. D. and L. M.) and through the agency of Chkheidze and Co., that they *stand their ground*, i.e., they defend Potresov and tolerate abuse of the "underground". They defend the idea of a legal workers' party.

But Plekhanov condemns liquidationism as a crime against the Party while at the same time advocating "unity" with the liquidators.

We can only smile at this.

The Pravdists warmly welcome all workers who really want to recognise the "form" which Potresov rejects; as for the empty phrases about "unity" with the opponents of the "underground", they regard them as empty phrases from people who know not what they want.

The Pravdists calmly meet the charge of being "usurpers" by saying: Does not one who is fond of declaiming, who is fond of phrases and dreads the *facts*, resemble a usurper and impostor? Plekhanov lives abroad; why is he so modestly reticent about the fact that from August 1912 to May 1914 the liquidators have *not* published *a single issue* of their newspaper abroad? *Neither* have they published *a single* factual reference to "organisations" which Plekhanov too has defended.

The opponents of the liquidators, however, have published a number of *factual* references to *all* localities in Russia, *in a number* of issues.

Plekhanov says nothing about these facts, because the facts refute his phrases.

Take the openly verifiable data published in Russia. During two full years, 1912 and 1913, the Pravdists *united* (and proved this by group collections) *2,801* workers' groups; the liquidators united *750*. If we add 1914, from February 1 to May 6 (preliminary estimate), we shall have *5,302* as against *1,382*.

The Pravdists have a majority of about *four-fifths*!

Naturally, the only thing that people who *dread* the facts can do is to keep on uttering phrases.

Around the precise and clear decisions, thrice supplemented and verified by the representatives of the workers (in January 1912 and in February and the summer of 1913), the Pravdists *united* four-fifths of the class-conscious workers in Russia. These decisions have been amplified in hundreds of articles and have been put into effect.

Now these are not phrases, not fables, not anecdotes about goitres and savages (Plekhanov is still retailing old jokes!) but *facts*. This is *real unity*, unity of the *workers*, who have tested *their* tactics by experience.

To slightingly call these tactics "Leninist"—tactics which have been approved by thousands of workers—is only a compliment to Lenin, but it does not do away with the *5,000* workers' groups, with their unity, or with their Party.

The catchwords "factionalism", "fragmentation", "disintegration", and so forth, apply to Plekhanov and his present-day friends. Look at the list of contributors to the intellectualist Narodnik journal *Sovremennik*, published on page 1 of Plekhanov's *Yedinstvo*. Here we have Himmer and Co. who preach *anti-Marxist* ideas. Plekhanov was right when he described them as the ideas of "*socialist-reactionaries*". Here we have the god-builders and Machists: Bogdanov, Bazarov and Lunacharsky. Here we have the liquidators: Dan, Martov and Cherevanin (for some reason Potresov, mentioned in No. 66 of *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*, is missing from the list). Here also we have the liberal Bogucharsky, and so forth.

And in this *Sovremennik*, which lacks the faintest trace of anything working-class, Mr. Himmer openly boasts that

Plekhanov is in favour of unity with him! *But Plekhanov is silent.*

Is it not time to doff the mask, before the workers tear it off, perhaps rudely! Among intellectualist *anti-Marxist* circles, among the flotsam of bourgeois democracy—this is where poor Plekhanov has accidentally landed. This is where you will find chaos, disintegration and tiny factions, which are opposing the unity achieved in the course of two years by thousands of workers' groups of the Pravdist trend.

We are sorry for Plekhanov. Considering the struggle he waged against the opportunists, Narodniks, Machists and liquidators, he deserves a better fate. We shall, however, continue to build up the unity of the workers' groups—already built to the extent of four-fifths—which pursue definite tactics tested by experience.

We shall accept anybody and everybody who renounces liquidationism; the door is not locked.

With the example of Trotsky's *Borba* and Plekhanov's *Yedinstvo* before our eyes, we shall show the deplorable and ridiculous vacillations of the intellectualist grouplets which, cut off from the working-class movement, keep on vacillating, swing to one side one day and to the other side the next, from the weak-kneed intellectual Potresov to the weak-kneed intellectual Himmer.

This is a sad spectacle, but one that is inevitable in a petty-bourgeois country in the epoch of bourgeois-democratic transformations.

Rabochy No. 4,
May 25, 1914

Published according to
the text in *Rabochy*

THE ESTIMATES OF THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE[155]

Our government considers its new agrarian policy—that of stepping up the destruction of the village communes by means of the rural superintendents[156] and of encouraging the *otrub* system—a highly effective weapon in its struggle against the revolution. Already in 1906, soon after the revolution, the Council of the United Nobility[157] called upon the government to introduce private landownership among the peasantry so as to create, as quickly as possible, a class of rich peasants that would side with the landlords against the peasant masses. Stolypin immediately adopted the policy recommended by the Council of the United Nobility. The landlord parties in the Third Duma, the Rights and the Octobrists, whole-heartedly supported this new agrarian policy, which they regarded, not only as an effective means of combating the revolution, but as a great advance towards the European economic system, a step towards eliminating the survivals of serfdom.

As is known, the praises of the new agrarian policy, which is represented as an instrument of "emancipation", have been sung in a thousand different keys in the governmental, Right, and Octobrist press.

It is from this standpoint that I wish, in my speech, to deal with the *principles* underlying the government's policy on the agrarian question. We are told on every hand that the number of land plots "registered" as private property and the number of *otrubs* are increasing. But nothing is said about the extent to which bondage and feudal relations still exist in our rural districts. Yet that is the crux of the matter. We are promised a "European" reform of our backward agriculture, with the class of the feudalist Purishke-

viches retaining full economic and political power. The promises remain promises, but what is the state of affairs in the countryside *today*, *after* all the progress the government boasts of? To what extent are the peasant masses *still* borne down by bondage and feudalist oppression?

To answer this question I shall call to witness a journal whose editor recently won well-merited and enthusiastic praise from *Anthony*, *Bishop of Volhynia himself*, and, of course, from writers like Rozanov of *Novoye Vremya*, who are notoriously reactionary and notoriously ready to serve the government. This is not a "Left" journal, God forbid! It is a journal run by people who have echoed *all* the abuse and vituperation the reactionaries heap on the revolution. It is a journal which stands up stoutly for clericalism and the sanctity of landlord property. You probably guess that I am referring to *Russkaya Mysl*.

This journal, by way of exception, spoke the truth and quoted figures, precise figures, showing the extent to which things like *métayage* and *winter hiring* are practised in Russia. Everybody knows that these are common everyday features in our countryside. But "everybody" prefers to speak about everything under the sun except these everyday features.

"Winter hiring," writes this journal, "is this not absurd in our age, the age of electricity and aeroplanes ? And yet this form of slavery and bondage continues to flourish to this day, like a leech on the body of the nation.... Winter hiring has preserved in all its freshness the feudal term of 'bonded' peasants."

This appraisal of winter hiring is not mine, but that of a journal notorious for its hatred of revolution. Slavery, bondage, serfdom—this is what quite "loyal" people are *compelled* to call "the order of things" existing in our countryside.

In winter hiring:

"the peasant accepts the hardest conditions, as little as a half and a third of the pay he usually receives in spring and summer hiring. In winter he gets paid as much per dessiatine for ploughing (three times) sowing, reaping or mowing, binding, and carting to the threshing shed as he does in summer only for harvesting (reaping and binding)."

How many peasants abide in this state of serfdom, bondage and slavery?

"According to local reports, *in the spring of 1913* the number of 'bonded' households in some villages of the South-West was as much as 48 per cent of the total, in Mogilev Gubernia 52 per cent, and in Chernigov Gubernia 56 per cent."

And this, mind you, refers to the spring of 1913! This is after the harvest of 1912! This was during the alleged sensational successes of the so-called "land organisation", which the government is boasting of and proclaiming from the house-tops!

What else, after that, can you call this notorious "land organisation" but a whited sepulchre, which masks the same old serfdom?

Half the peasant households are "bonded", enslaved through dire poverty. Hunger, hunger even during a good crop year, makes the peasants give their labour in thrall to the landlord in winter for a third of the pay. In practice, this amounts to a continuation of the corvée, of serfdom, because the very essence of serfdom is preserved in the shape of a pauperised, starving, ruined peasant, who, even in the best year, is compelled to till the landlord's land with his poor implements and half-starved animals on terms of "winter hiring".

Let the number of plots registered as private property increase. This may even be a useful measure in regard to those proletarians who will rid themselves of a burden and be freer to fight for liberty and socialism.

But, obviously, no "registrations", no "blessings" of private ownership can help those millions of households, those tens of millions of peasants, who have *nowhere* to go to from the village and are compelled to give themselves in winter in thrall to the landlords.

These peasants are bound to strive towards a transfer of all the landed estates into their hands without payment, for this is the *only* way out for them, the only escape from hopeless enslavement. Communal landownership has nothing to do with it. Both the homesteader and the fullest "individual proprietor" will, like the commune peasant, remain for ever downtrodden slaves if they are unable to make their crop last *longer than St. Nicholas Day** and

* December 6 (old style).—*Ed.*

are compelled to borrow from the landlord on usurious terms.

It is absurd, as far as these tens of millions of peasants are concerned, to speak about the "progress" of farming, about a "rising level of agriculture", about improved methods of working the land, and so forth. What improved methods can there be when dire poverty makes the peasant hire himself out to the landlord at a third of the pay, while in the summer his own grain is spilling because in the summer the police will drag him away to work for the "*squire*" in payment for the advances of grain or money he has had from him!

And the landlord, who advances grain or money for winter hiring, is quite unlike the "European" employer, or any capitalist employer for that matter. He is not an employer, but a usurer or a feudal lord. Improved methods are not only unnecessary under such a "system of farming", but positively *undesirable*. They are both *unnecessary* and *detrimental* to it. A ruined, pauperised, starving peasant with half-starved animals and wretched implements—that is what this landlord system of farming *needs*, a system that is *perpetuating* the backwardness of Russia and the misery of the peasants. With the bulk of the peasant population living under such conditions of serf dependence, these conditions would continue for decades to come, until the peasants liberated themselves from this yoke; for the creation of a small minority of rich "*otrub* farmers", or the establishment of private holdings and their sale by the proletarians, would have no effect whatever on the enslaved position of the peasant masses.

This is what the praisers of the new, Stolypin agrarian policy forget, or rather try to forget, try to obscure and screen. They all sing in chorus that this policy means "progress", but what they *do not say* is that this progress affects a very small minority and is proceeding at a snail's pace, while the *majority* are in the same old state of bondage and serfdom.

The number of *otrub* farmers is increasing, more machines are being imported into Russia, grass cultivation is developing, and the number of co-operative societies in the rural districts is growing. All that is true, defenders of the govern-

ment! But there is the reverse of the medal, which you are trying to conceal. For all this much-vaunted progress, most of the peasants are still in a state of feudal slavery. That is what makes all this "progress" so *meager* and *precarious*; that is what makes famines inevitable; that is what makes the home market so weak and wretched, that is what enables oppression and tyranny to maintain such a firm hold, and that is what *increases* the inevitability of another agrarian revolution, because all the greater is the contradiction between an age of aeroplanes, electricity and automobiles, and "winter hiring" or "métayage".

And here are the *latest* figures on métayage in Russia, given in the journal, approved of by Anthony of Volhynia. The peasants' crops cultivated on the métayer system amounted to 21 per cent of the crops on their own lands in the Central gubernias, to 42 per cent in the Lake gubernias, and to 68 per cent in the North-Western gubernias! The corresponding figures for grass mowing are 50 per cent in the Central gubernias, and 110-185 per cent in the Lake, Trans-Volga and North-Western gubernias!

Thus, métayer haymaking *predominates* over the peasants' own haymaking in *three* vast regions of Russia!

What is the "métayer system"?

"The peasant, using the landlord's land but his own seeds, does all the cultivation and harvesting down to carting the sheaves to the threshing shed, and takes only half the crop for himself. The hay meadows are worked on a "one-third" system, the métayer taking one haycock to every two that go to the landlord."

But that is not all.

"In some cases (especially in Minsk and Chernigov gubernias), the métayer in addition to paying for the land with half the crop, and for the Lay with two-thirds of the crop, *is obliged to work gratis on the owner's farm for one or two weeks*, *in most cases with his own horse*, *or with one of his children*."

What is this if not the corvée, pure and simple? What is this if not the ancient serf system of farming?

There is nothing new in these figures whatever. On the contrary—they reveal to us the hoary past, which has survived in all its monstrous aspects *side by side* with the "new" agrarian policy. Anyone in touch with rural life has long been aware of the existence of this hoary past. Statisticians

and observers of country life have written dozens and hundreds of books about that past. And that hoary past predominates to this day, perpetuating the scandalous backwardness and scandalous tyranny that reign in Russia.

No laws can put a stop to this serfdom so long as the bulk of the land remains the property of the all-powerful landlords. No "private landownership" in place of the "communes" of downtrodden peasants can be of any help.

According to the official statistics on landownership for 1905 published by the Ministry of the Interior *less than 30,000* landlords in European Russia own *seventy million* dessiatines of land.

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UNITY

"The workers are tired of splits. The workers want unity. The workers are disgusted at the fact that the split sometimes even takes the form of brawling...."

Such and similar statements can sometimes be heard from workers.

The workers do need unity. And the important thing to remember is that *nobody* but themselves will "give" them unity, that *nobody can* help them achieve unity. Unity cannot be "promised"—that would be vain boasting, self-deception; unity cannot be "created" out of "agreements" between intellectualist groups. To think so is a profoundly sad, naïve, and ignorant delusion.

Unity must be *won*, and only the workers, the class-conscious workers themselves can win it—by stubborn and persistent effort.

Nothing is easier than to write the word "unity" in yard-long letters, to promise it and to "proclaim" oneself an advocate of unity. In reality, however, unity can be furthered only by the efforts and organisation of the advanced workers, of *all* the class-conscious workers.

Unity without organisation is impossible. Organisation is impossible unless the minority bows to the majority.

These are incontestible truths. Nobody will question them. The only—only!—thing is to put them into effect. That is not easy. That requires effort, perseverance, the solidarity of all class-conscious workers. But without that effort there is no use talking about working-class unity.

The resolution adopted by the Amsterdam International Congress presses for the unity of the workers' parties in all countries.[158] This resolution is correct. It demands the *unity of the workers*, but with us attempts are being made to

substitute for it the *unity of intellectualist groups which refuse to bow to the will of the workers*!

It would be ridiculous, were it not so sad.

During the last two-and-a-half years (since January 1, 1912), the majority of the class-conscious workers all over Russia have, in fact, united around the Pravdist decisions adopted in January 1912, in February 1913 and in the summer of 1913. This is proved by precise figures showing the number of workers' groups in which collections have been made for various newspapers. The various intellectualist groups which cannot find any backing among the mass of the workers may ignore these figures and pass them over in silence, but they cannot do away with them. It only shows that the various intellectualist groups are cut off from the masses of the workers and are *afraid of the truth*.

The number of workers' groups in which collections were made for newspapers in St. Petersburg:

	Pravdist	Liquidationist
For the two full years, 1912 and 1913	2,801	750
For half of 1914 (January 1 to May 13)	2,873	671
Total	5,674	1,421

These figures, which have been published many times and have never been revised or challenged, show that the liquidators have the support of *only one-fifth* of the class-conscious workers (and their figures include *all* their allies; the Caucasians, Trotskyists, Bundists and the Letts; their allies are now *falling away* from them; the Letts *have already done so*).

Thus, four-fifths of the workers have accepted the Pravdist decisions *as their own*, have approved of Pravdism, and *actually* rallied around Pravdism.

Now this is real unity of the *workers*, not of intellectualist groups, unity in deed, not merely in word, unity as a result of two-and-a-half years of effort in the working-class movement all over Russia, not a mere promise of unity.

It is for this unity, for submission to this four-fifths majority of the workers, that we must go on fighting. *There is not*, *nor can there be*, any other way to unity. The workers are not infants to believe that this four-fifths majority will

allow the minority of one-fifth, or intellectuals who have no workers' backing at all, to *flout the will* of the majority of the workers! The very idea is ridiculous and absurd.

Let those who want to abuse the Pravdists and call them "usurpers" do so. Let this abuse unite the liquidators, Plekhanov, Trotsky, the Vperyodists, the Bundists, and anybody else who pleases. This is abuse coming from impotent little groups, who are angry at their own impotence. This clamour for "unity" on the part of impotent little groups, which have cut themselves off from the masses of the workers, is sheer hypocrisy, for *it is they* who are violating unity, it is they who are *flouting the will of the majority by their splitting tactics*.

These groups are striving in vain. Their abuse is not worth taking notice of. The Pravdist workers are building up and will continue to build up the *unity of the workers*, despite all vituperation from angry but impotent intellectualist groups.

Trudovaya Pravda No. 2,
May 30, 1914

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A FOOL'S HASTE IS NO SPEED

A recent issue of *Der Kampf*,[159] the Austrian Social-Democratic monthly, contained a sensational paragraph signed F. A., stating that Eduard Bernstein, leader of the German opportunists, had renounced his revisionist, opportunist views and returned to Marxism.

Revisionism—revision of Marxism—is today one of the chief manifestations, if not the chief, of bourgeois influence on the proletariat and bourgeois corruption of the workers. That is why Eduard Bernstein, the opportunist leader, has won such world-wide notoriety.

And now we are told that Bernstein has returned to Marxism. This piece of news should seem strange to anyone at all familiar with German Social-Democratic literature. *Sozialistische Monatshefte*,* the principal organ of the opportunists, is still published and continues to preach purely bourgeois views which, in effect, amount to a complete betrayal of socialism. And Bernstein continues to be a leading contributor to the journal. What can the matter be?

It appears that Bernstein gave a lecture in Budapest in which, according to a local paper, he renounced revisionism.

F. A., the Austrian author, has proved exceedingly gullible and imprudent in hastening to proclaim to the world that Bernstein has revised his views. But the liquidator V. Levitsky, one of the leading opportunist contributors to the opportunist journal *Nasha Zarya* (the Menshevik Plekhanov has dubbed it the *Russian* "*Socialist Monthly*") has proved more imprudent still: in *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* (April 3, No. 46) he published a lengthy article under the resonant title of "From Revisionism to Marxism", based *wholly* on F. A.'s report.

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* *Socialist Monthly.—Ed.*

Mr. Levitsky did not even wait for Bernstein's lecture to appear in the press. A fool's haste is no speed.

On learning what world-wide "fame" his Budapest lecture had won, Bernstein wrote a letter to the Brussels Social-Democratic paper *Le Peuple*[160] on April 11 (new style) in which he bluntly declared: "The report in *Der Kampf* is absolutely without foundation. I said nothing new in Budapest and did not recant any of the views expressed in *Premises of Socialism* [Bernstein's chief opportunist work]. The report of my lecture in the Budapest paper simply confused my words with the remarks of the reporter!"

The whole affair proved an ordinary newspaper hoax.

It did, however, reveal the deplorable proneness of some Austrian (only Austrian?) Social-Democrats to *disguise* opportunism and proclaim its disappearance.

Excessive zeal has carried Mr. Levitsky to preposterous lengths. He writes in *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*: "With the reversion [?] to Marxism of the father [?] of revisionism, Bernstein, revisionism within the German Social-Democratic movement has been killed for good [!?]."

Every word here is a gem: there has been no reversion, Bernstein is no father, revisionism has not been killed.

> "In Russia" the zealous Mr. Levitsky writes, "revisionism has ceased to be a modish doctrine even among the Left Narodniks, who at one time were inclined to fall back on it in their fight against Marxism. Within the Russian Social-Democratic movement revisionism had no influence whatever, despite the attempts of some writers to transplant it to Russian soil."

Every word here is an untruth. On *all* major issues the Left Narodniks even now "fall back on" the revisionist "doctrines". That is proved by every issue of *Russkoye Bogatstvo* and *Zavety*, by every issue of *Stoikaya Mysl*. Glossing over the opportunism of the Left Narodniks can only cause harm.

There has been some revisionist *influence* within Russian Social-Democracy *since the very beginning* of the mass working-class and mass Social-Democratic movement in 1895-96. Does Mr. Levitsky mean to say he has not heard of the struggle which consistent Marxists and adherents of the old *Iskra* waged for many years against the Economists? Does he mean to say he has not heard of the Party resolutions and

the numerous articles written during that period, affirming, proving and explaining that Economism was the Russian form of revisionism and opportunism? Does Mr. Levitsky mean to say he has forgotten about Mr. A. Martynov, a leading liquidator of today, and a leading Economist of yesterday?

Mr. Levitsky denies revisionism in order to disguise *his own* revisionism. We would remind him only of the four following facts: 1) Was it not the Menshevik Plekhanov who declared in the press in 1909-10 that the Mensheviks had absorbed into their ranks quite a number of opportunist elements? 2) Was it not the same Plekhanov who demonstrated the opportunist nature of the liquidationist "fight-for-legality" slogan? 3) Was it not *several* anti-liquidationist Mensheviks who demonstrated the *connection* between liquidationism and Economism? 4) Is it not opportunism to renounce, as Koltsov does, "two pillars" (out of the three) as unsuitable for agitation?

These four facts alone—and forty-four more could be cited—are clear proof that the Economism of 1895-1902, the Menshevism of 1903-08 and the liquidationism of 1908-14, all represent the Russian form or species of opportunism and revisionism, no more and no less.

Prosveshcheniye No. 5,
May 1914
Signed: *V. I.*

Published according to
the text in *Prosveshcheniye*

DISRUPTION OF UNITY UNDER COVER OF OUTCRIES FOR UNITY

Published in May 1914
in the journal *Prosveshcheniye* No. 5
Signed: *V. Ilyin*

Published according to
the text in the journal

DISRUPTION OF UNITY UNDER COVER OF OUTCRIES FOR UNITY

Published in May 1914
in the journal Prosvesheniye No. 5
Signed: V. Ilyin

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The questions of the present-day working-class movement are in many respects vexed questions, particularly for representatives of that movement's recent past (i.e., of the stage which historically has just drawn to a close). This applies primarily to the questions of so-called factionalism, splits, and so forth. One often hears intellectuals in the working-class movement making nervous, feverish and almost hysterical appeals not to raise these vexed questions. Those who have experienced the long years of struggle between the various trends among Marxists since 1900-01, for example, may naturally think it superfluous to repeat many of the arguments on the subject of these vexed questions.

But there are not many people left today who took part in the fourteen-year-old conflict among Marxists (not to speak of the eighteen- or nineteen-year-old conflict, counting from the moment the first symptoms of Economism appeared). The vast majority of the workers who now make up the ranks of the Marxists either do not remember the old conflict, or have never heard of it. To the overwhelming majority (as, incidentally, was shown by the opinion poll held by our journal[161]), these vexed questions are a matter of exceptionally great interest. We therefore intend to deal with these questions, which have been raised *as it were* anew (and for the younger generation of the workers they are really new) by Trotsky's "non-factional workers' journal", *Borba*.

I. "FACTIONALISM"

Trotsky calls his new journal "non-factional". He puts this word in the top line in his advertisements; this word is stressed by him in every key, in the editorial articles of *Borba* itself, as well as in the liquidationist *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*, which carried an article on *Borba* by Trotsky before the latter began publication.

What is this "non-factionalism"?

Trotsky's "workers' journal" is Trotsky's journal *for* workers, as there is not a trace in it of either workers' initiative, or any connection with working-class organisations. Desiring to write in a popular style, Trotsky, in his journal for workers, explains for the benefit of his readers the meaning of such foreign words as "territory", "factor", and so forth.

Very good. But why not also explain to the workers the meaning of the word "non-factionalism"? Is that word *more* intelligible than the words "territory" and "factor"?

No, that is not the reason. The reason is that the label "non-factionalism" is used by the worst representatives of the worst remnants of factionalism *to mislead* the younger generation of workers. It is worth while devoting a little time to explaining this.

Group-division was the main distinguishing feature of the Social-Democratic Party during a definite historical period. Which period? From 1903 to 1911.

To explain the nature of this group-division more clearly we must recall the concrete conditions that existed in, say, 1906-07. At that time the Party was united, there was no split, but group-division existed, i.e., in the united Party there were *virtually two* groups, two virtually separate organisations. The local workers' organisations were united, but on every important issue the two groups devised two sets of tactics. The advocates of the respective tactics disputed among themselves in the united workers' organisations (as was the case, for example, during the discussion of the slogan: a Duma, or Cadet, Ministry, in 1906, or during the elections of delegates to the London Congress in 1907), and questions were decided *by a majority vote*. One group was defeated at the Stockholm Unity Congress (1906), the other was defeated at the London Unity Congress (1907).

These are commonly known facts in the history of organised Marxism in Russia.

It is sufficient to recall these commonly known facts to realise what glaring falsehoods Trotsky is spreading.

For over two years, since 1912, there has been *no* factionalism among the organised Marxists in Russia, no disputes over tactics in *united* organisations, at united *conferences* and congresses. There is a *complete* break between the

Party, which in January 1912 formally announced that the liquidators *do not* belong to it, and the liquidators. Trotsky often calls this state of affairs a "split", and we shall deal with this appellation separately later on. But it remains an undoubted fact that the term "factionalism" *deviates from the truth*.

As we have said, this term is a repetition, an uncritical, unreasonable, senseless repetition of *what was true yesterday*, i.e., in the period that has already passed. When Trotsky talks to us about the "chaos of factional strife" (see No. 1, pp. 5, 6, and many others) we realise at once *which* period of the past his words echo.

Consider the present state of affairs from the viewpoint of the young Russian workers who now constitute nine-tenths of the organised Marxists in Russia. They see *three* mass expressions of the different views, or trends in the working-class movement: the Pravdists, gathered around a newspaper with a circulation of 40,000; the liquidators (15,000 circulation) and the Left Narodniks (10,000 circulation). The circulation figures tell the reader about the *mass* character of a given tenet.

The question arises: what has "chaos" got to do with it? Everybody knows that Trotsky is fond of high-sounding and empty phrases. But the catchword "chaos" is *not only* phrase-mongering; it signifies *also* the transplanting, or rather, a vain attempt to transplant, to Russian soil, in the present period, the relations that existed *abroad* in a *bygone* period. That is the whole point.

There is no "chaos" whatever in the struggle between the Marxists and the Narodniks. That, we hope, not *even* Trotsky will dare to deny. The struggle between the Marxists and the Narodniks has been going on for over thirty years, ever since Marxism came into being. The cause of this struggle is the radical divergence of interests and viewpoints of two different classes, the proletariat and the peasantry. If there is any "chaos" anywhere, it is only in the heads of cranks who fail to understand this.

What, then, remains? "Chaos" in the struggle between the Marxists and the liquidators? That, too, is wrong, for a struggle against a *trend*, which the entire Party recognised as a trend and condemned as far back as 1908, cannot be

called chaos. And everybody who has the least concern for the history of Marxism in Russia knows that liquidationism is most closely and inseverably connected, even as regards its leaders and supporters, with Menshevism (1903-08) and Economism (1894-1903). Consequently, here, too, we have a history extending over nearly twenty years. To regard the history of one's own Party as "chaos" reveals an unpardonable empty-headedness.

Now let us examine the present situation *from the point of view* of Paris or Vienna. At once the whole picture changes. *Besides* the Pravdists and liquidators, we see *no less than five Russian* groups claiming membership of one and the same Social-Democratic Party: Trotsky's group, two *Vperyod* groups, the "pro-Party Bolsheviks" and the "pro-Party Mensheviks".[162] All Marxists in Paris and in Vienna (for the purpose of illustration I take two of the largest centres) are perfectly well aware of this.

Here Trotsky is right in a certain sense; this is indeed group-division, chaos indeed!

Groups within the Party, i.e., nominal unity (all *claim* to belong to one Party) and actual disunity (for, in fact, all the groups are independent of one another and enter into negotiations and agreements with each other as sovereign powers).

"Chaos", i.e., the absence of (1) objective and verifiable proof that these groups are linked with the working-class movement in Russia and (2) absence of any data to enable us to judge the actual ideological and political physiognomy of these groups. Take a period of two full years—1912 and 1913. As everybody knows, this was a period of the revival and upswing of the working-class movement, when every trend or tendency of a more or less *mass* character (and in politics this mass character alone counts) *could not but* exercise some influence on the Fourth Duma elections, the strike movement, the legal newspapers, the trade unions, the insurance election campaign, and so on. Throughout those two years, not one of these five groups abroad asserted itself in the slightest degree *in any* of the activities of the mass working-class movement in Russia just enumerated!

That is a fact that anybody can easily verify.

And that fact proves that we were right in calling Trotsky a representative of the "worst remnants of factionalism".

Although he claims to be non-factional, Trotsky is known to everybody who is in the least familiar with the working-class movement in Russia as the representative of "Trotsky's *faction*". Here we have group-division, for we see two essential symptoms of it: (1) nominal recognition of unity and (2) group segregation in fact. Here there are remnants of group-division, for there is no evidence whatever of any real connection with the mass working-class movement in Russia.

And lastly, it is the worst form of group-division, for there is *no* ideological and political definiteness. It cannot be denied that this definiteness is characteristic of both the Pravdists (even our determined opponent L. Martov admits that we stand "solid and disciplined" around universally known formal decisions on all questions) and the liquidators (they, or at all events the most prominent of them, have very definite features, namely, liberal, not Marxist).

It cannot be denied that some of the groups which, like Trotsky's, really exist exclusively from the Vienna-Paris, but by no means from the Russian, point of view, possess a degree of definiteness. For example, the *Machist* theories of the Machist *Vperyod* group are definite; the emphatic repudiation of these theories and defence of Marxism, in addition to the theoretical condemnation of liquidationism, by the "pro-Party Mensheviks", are definite.

Trotsky, however, possesses no ideological and political definiteness, for his patent for "non-factionalism", as we shall soon see in greater detail, is merely a patent to *flit* freely to and fro, from one group to another.

To sum up:

1) Trotsky does not explain, nor does he understand, the historical significance of the *ideological* disagreements among the various Marxist trends and groups, although these disagreements run through the twenty years' history of Social-Democracy and concern the fundamental questions of the present day (as we shall show later on);

2) Trotsky fails to understand that the main specific features of *group-division* are nominal recognition of unity and actual disunity;

3) Under cover of "non-factionalism" Trotsky is championing the interests of a group abroad which particularly lacks definite principles and has no basis in the working-class movement in Russia.

All that glitters is not gold. There is much glitter and sound in Trotsky's phrases, but they are meaningless.

II. THE SPLIT

"Although there is no group-division, i.e., nominal recognition of unity, but actual disunity, among you, Pravdists, there is something worse, namely, splitting tactics," we are told. This is exactly what Trotsky says. Unable to think out his ideas or to get his arguments to hang together, he rants against group-division at one moment, and at the next shouts: "Splitting tactics are winning one suicidal victory after another". (No. 1, p. 6.)

This statement can have only one meaning: "The *Pravdists* are winning one victory after another" (this is an objective, verifiable fact, established by a study of the mass working-class movement in Russia during, say, 1912 and 1913), *but I*, *Trotsky*, denounce the Pravdists (1) as splitters, and 2) as suicidal politicians.

Let us examine this.

First of all we must express our thanks to Trotsky. Not long ago (from August 1912 to February 1914) he was at one with F. Dan, who, as is well known, threatened to "*kill*" anti-liquidationism, and called upon others to do so. At present Trotsky does not threaten to "kill" our trend (and our Party—don't be angry, Citizen Trotsky, this is true!), he only prophesies that it will kill *itself*!

This is much milder, isn't it? It is almost "non-factional", isn't it?

But joking apart (although joking is the only way of retorting mildly to Trotsky's insufferable phrase-mongering).

"Suicide" is a mere empty phrase, mere "Trotskyism".

Splitting tactics are a grave political accusation. This accusation is repeated against us in a thousand different keys by the liquidators and by all the groups enumerated above, who, from the point of view of Paris and Vienna, actually exist.

And all of them repeat this grave political accusation in an amazingly frivolous way. Look at Trotsky. He admitted that "splitting tactics are winning [read: the Pravdists are winning] one suicidal victory after another". To this he adds:

"*Numerous advanced workers, in a state of utter political bewilderment, themselves often become active agents of a split.*" (No. 1, p. 6.)

Are not these words a glaring example of irresponsibility on this question?

You accuse us of being splitters when all that we see in front of us in the arena of the working-class movement in Russia is liquidationism. So you think that our attitude towards liquidationism is wrong? Indeed, *all* the groups abroad that we enumerated above, no matter how much they may differ from each other, are agreed that our attitude towards liquidationism is wrong, that it is the attitude of "splitters". This, too, reveals the similarity (and fairly close political kinship) between *all* these groups and the liquidators.

If our attitude towards liquidationism is wrong in theory, in principle, then Trotsky should say so *straightforwardly*, and state *definitely*, without equivocation, why he thinks it is wrong. But Trotsky has been evading this extremely important point *for years*.

If our attitude towards liquidationism has been proved wrong in practice, by the experience of the movement, then this experience should be analysed; but Trotsky fails to do this either. "Numerous advanced workers," he admits, "become *active agents* of a split" (read: active agents of the Pravdist line, tactics, system and organisation).

What is the cause of the deplorable fact, which, as Trotsky admits, is confirmed by experience, that the *advanced* workers, the *numerous* advanced workers at that, stand for *Pravda*?

It is the "utter political bewilderment" of these advanced workers, answers Trotsky.

Needless to say, this explanation is highly flattering to Trotsky, to all five groups abroad, and to the liquidators. Trotsky is very fond of using, with the learned air of the expert, pompous and high-sounding phrases to explain

historical phenomena in a way that is flattering to Trotsky. Since "numerous advanced workers" become "active agents" of a political and Party line which does not conform to Trotsky's line, Trotsky settles the question unhesitatingly, out of hand: these advanced workers are "in a state of utter political bewilderment", whereas he, Trotsky, is evidently "in a state" of political firmness and clarity, and keeps to the right line!... And this very same Trotsky, beating his breast, fulminates against factionalism, parochialism,- and the efforts of intellectuals to impose their will on the workers!

Reading things like these, one cannot help asking oneself: is it from a lunatic asylum that such voices come?

The Party put the question of liquidationism, and of condemning it, before the "advanced workers" as far back as 1908, while the question of "splitting" away from a very definite group of liquidators (namely, the *Nasha Zarya* group), i.e., that the only way to build up the Party was *without* this group and in opposition to it—this question was raised in January 1912, over two years ago. The overwhelming majority of the advanced workers declared *in favour of* supporting the "January (1912) line". Trotsky himself admits this fact when he talks about "victories" and about "numerous advanced workers". But Trotsky wriggles out of this simply by hurling *abuse* at these advanced workers and calling them "splitters" and "politically bewildered"!

From these facts sane people will draw a different conclusion. Where the *majority* of the class-conscious workers have rallied around precise and definite decisions, there we shall find *unity* of opinion and action, there we shall find the Party spirit, and the Party.

Where we see liquidators who have been "removed from office" by the workers, or half a dozen groups outside Russia, who for two years have produced *no* proof that they are connected with the mass working-class movement in Russia, there, indeed, we shall find bewilderment and *splits*. In now trying to persuade the workers *not to carry out the decisions* of that "united whole", which the Marxist Pravdists recognise, Trotsky is *trying* to disrupt the movement and cause a split.

These efforts are futile, but we must expose the arrogantly conceited leaders of intellectualist groups, who, while causing splits themselves, are shouting about others causing splits; who, after sustaining *utter defeat* at the hands of the "advanced workers" for the past two years or more, are with incredible insolence *flouting* the decisions and the will of these advanced workers and saying that *they* are "politically bewildered". These are entirely the methods of Nozdrev,[163] or of "Judas" Golovlyov.[164]

In reply to these repeated outcries about a split and in fulfilment of my duty as a publicist, I will not tire of repeating *precise*, unrefuted and irrefutable figures. In the Second Duma, 47 per cent of the deputies elected by the worker curia were Bolsheviks, in the Third Duma 50 per cent were Bolsheviks, and in the Fourth Duma 67 per cent.

There you have the majority of the "advanced workers", there you have the Party; there you have unity of opinion and action of the majority of the class-conscious workers.

To this the liquidators say (see Bulkin, L. M., in *Nasha Zarya* No. 3) that we base our arguments on the Stolypin curias. This is a foolish and unscrupulous argument. The Germans measure their successes by the results of elections conducted under the Bismarckian electoral law, which excludes women. Only people bereft of their senses would reproach the German Marxists for measuring their successes under the *existing* electoral law, without in the least justifying its reactionary restrictions.

And we, too, without justifying curias, or the curia system, measured our successes under the *existing* electoral law. There were curias in all three (Second, Third and Fourth) Duma elections; and *within* the worker curia, *within* the ranks of Social-Democracy, there was a *complete* swing against the liquidators. Those who do not wish to deceive themselves and others must admit this objective fact, namely, the victory of *working-class unity over* the liquidators.

The other argument is just as "clever": "Mensheviks and liquidators voted for (or took part in the election of) such-and-such a Bolshevik." Splendid! But does not the same thing apply to the 53 per cent *non*-Bolshevik deputies returned to the Second Duma, and to the 50 per cent returned

to the Third Duma, and to the 33 per cent returned to the Fourth Duma?

If, instead of the figures on the deputies elected, we could obtain the figures on the electors, or workers' delegates, etc., we would gladly quote them. But these more detailed figures are *not* available, and consequently the "disputants" are simply throwing dust in people's eyes.

But what about the figures of the workers' groups that assisted the newspapers of the different trends? During *two* years (1912 and 1913), 2,801 groups assisted *Pravda*, and 750 assisted *Luch*.* These figures are verifiable and nobody has attempted to disprove them.

Where is the *unity of action and will of the majority* of the "advanced workers", and where is the *flouting* of the will of the majority?

Trotsky's "non-factionalism" is, actually, splitting tactics, in that it shamelessly flouts the will of the majority of the workers.

III. THE BREAK-UP OF THE AUGUST BLOC

But there is still another method, and a very important one, of verifying the correctness and truthfulness of Trotsky's accusations about splitting tactics.

You consider that it is the "Leninists" who are splitters? Very well, let us assume that you are right.

But if you are, why have not all the other sections and groups proved that unity is possible with the liquidators *without* the "Leninists", and *against* the "splitters"?... If we are splitters, why have not you, uniters, united among yourselves, and with the liquidators? Had you done that you would have proved to the workers *by deeds* that unity is possible and beneficial!...

Let us go over the chronology of events.

In January 1912, the "Leninist" "splitters" declared that they were a Party *without* and *against* the liquidators.

In March 1912, *all* the groups and "factions": liquidators, Trotskyists, Vperyodists, "pro-Party Bolsheviks" and "pro-

* A preliminary calculation made up to April 1, 1914, showed 4,000 groups for *Pravda* (commencing with January 1, 1912) and 1,000 for the liquidators and all their allies taken together.

Party Mensheviks", in their Russian news sheets and in the columns of the German Social-Democratic newspaper *Vorwärts*, *united* against these "splitters". All of them unanimously, in chorus, in unison and in one voice vilified us and called us "usurpers", "mystifiers", and other no less affectionate and tender names.

Very well, gentlemen! But what could have been easier for you than to unite *against* the "usurpers" and to set the "advanced workers" an example of *unity*? Do you mean to say that if the advanced workers had seen, on the one hand, the unity of all against the usurpers, the unity of liquidators and *non*-liquidators, and on the other, *isolated* "usurpers", "splitters", and so forth, they would not have supported the former?

If disagreements are only invented, or exaggerated, and so forth, by the "Leninists", and if unity between the liquidators, Plekhanovites, Vperyodists, Trotskyists, and so forth, is really *possible*, why have you not proved this during the past two years by *your own* example?

In August 1912, a conference of "uniters" was convened. *Disunity* started at once: the Plekhanovites refused to attend at all; the Vperyodists attended, but walked out after protesting and exposing the fictitious character of the whole business.

The liquidators, the Letts, the Trotskyists (Trotsky and Semkovsky), the Caucasians, and the Seven "united". But did they? We stated at the time that they did not, that this was merely a screen to cover up liquidationism. Have the events disproved our statement?

Exactly eighteen months later, in February 1914, we found:

1. that the Seven was breaking up. Buryanov had left them.

2. that in the remaining new "Six", Chkheidze and Tulyakov, or somebody else, could not see eye to eye on the reply-to be made to Plekhanov. They stated in the press that they would reply to him, *but they could not*.

3. that Trotsky, who for many months had practically vanished from the columns of *Luch*, had *broken away*, and had started "his own" journal, *Borba*. By calling this journal "non-factional", Trotsky clearly (clearly to those who

are at all familiar with the subject) intimates that in his, Trotsky's, opinion, *Nasha Zarya* and *Luch had proved to be* "factional", i.e., poor uniters.

If you are a uniter, my dear Trotsky, if you say that it is possible to unite with the liquidators, if you and they stand by the "fundamental ideas formulated in August 1912" (*Borba* No. 1, p. 6, Editorial Note), why *did not you yourself* unite with the liquidators in *Nasha Zarya* and *Luch*?

When, before Trotsky's journal appeared, *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* published some scathing comment stating that the physiognomy of this journal was "unclear" and that there had been "quite a good deal of talk in Marxist circles" about this journal, *Put Pravdy* (No. 37)* was naturally obliged to expose this falsehood. It said: "There has been talk in Marxist circles" about a secret memorandum written by Trotsky *against* the *Luch* group; Trotsky's physiognomy and his breakaway from the August bloc were perfectly "clear".

4. An, the well-known leader of the Caucasian liquidators, who had attacked L. Sedov (for which he was given a public wigging by F. Dan and Co.), now appeared in *Borba*. It remains "unclear" whether the Caucasians now desire to go with Trotsky or with Dan.

5. The Lettish Marxists, who were the only real organisation in the "August bloc", had *formally* withdrawn from it, stating (in 1914) in the resolution of their last Congress that:

"*the attempt on the part of the conciliators to unite at all cost with the liquidators* (*the August Conference of 1912*) *proved fruitless, and the uniters themselves became ideologically and politically dependent upon the liquidators.*"

This statement was made, after eighteen months experience, by an organisation which had itself been *neutral* and had *not* desired to establish connection with *either* of the two centres. This decision of *neutrals* should carry all the more weight with Trotsky!

Enough, is it not?

Those who accused us of being splitters, of being unwilling or unable to get on with the liquidators, were *themselves*

* See pp. 158-61 of this volume.—*Ed.*

unable to get on with them. The August bloc proved to be a fiction and broke up.

By concealing this break-up from his readers, Trotsky is deceiving them.

The experience of our opponents has proved that we are right, has proved that the liquidators cannot be co-operated with.

IV. A CONCILIATOR'S ADVICE TO THE "SEVEN"

The editorial article in issue No. 1 of *Borba* entitled "The Split in the Duma Group" contains advice from a conciliator to the seven pro-liquidator (or inclining towards liquidationism) members of the Duma. The gist of this advice is contained in the following words:

> "first of all consult the Six whenever it is necessary to reach an agreement with other groups...." (P. 29.)

This is the wise counsel which, among other things, is evidently the cause of Trotsky's disagreement with the liquidators of *Luch*. This is the opinion the Pravdists have held ever since the outbreak of the conflict between the two groups in the Duma, ever since the resolution of the Summer (1913) Conference was adopted. The Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma has reiterated in the *press*, even after the split, that it continues to adhere to this position, in spite of the repeated refusals of the Seven.

From the very outset, since the time the resolution of the Summer Conference was adopted, we have been, and still are, of the opinion that *agreements* on questions concerning activities in the *Duma* are desirable and possible; if such agreements have been repeatedly arrived at with the petty-bourgeois peasant democrats (Trudoviks), they are all the more possible and necessary with the petty-bourgeois, liberal-labour politicians.

We must not exaggerate disagreements, but we must face the facts: the Seven are men, leaning towards liquidationism, who yesterday entirely followed the lead of Dan, and whose eyes today are travelling longingly from Dan to Trotsky and back again. The liquidators are a group of legalists who have broken away from the Party and are pursuing a liberal-

labour policy. Since they repudiate the "underground", there can be no question of unity with them In matters concerning Party organisation and the working-class movement. Whoever thinks differently is badly mistaken and fails to take into account the profound nature of the changes that have taken place since 1908.

But *agreements* on certain questions with this group, which stands outside or on the fringe of the Party, are, of course, permissible: we *must* always compel this group, too, like the Trudoviks, to choose between the workers' (Pravdist) policy and the liberal policy. For example, on the question of fighting for freedom of the press the liquidators clearly revealed vacillation between the liberal formulation of the question, which repudiated, or overlooked, the illegal press, and the opposite policy, that of the workers.

Within the scope of a *Duma* policy in which the most important *extra-Duma* issues are not directly raised, agreements with the seven liberal-labour deputies are possible and desirable. On this point Trotsky has shifted his ground *from* that of the liquidators *to* that of the Party Summer (1913) Conference.

It should not be forgotten, however, that to a group standing outside the Party, agreement means something entirely different from what Party people usually understand by the term. By "agreement" in the Duma, non-Party people mean "*drawing up* a tactical resolution, or line". To Party people agreement is an attempt to *enlist* others in the work of carrying out the Party line.

For example, the Trudoviks have no party. By agreement they understand the "voluntary", so to speak, "drawing up" of a line, today with the Cadets, tomorrow with the Social-Democrats. We, however, understand something entirely different by agreement with the Trudoviks. We have Party decisions on all the important questions of tactics, and we shall never depart from these decisions; by agreement with the Trudoviks we mean *winning* them over to our side, *convincing* them that we are right, and *not rejecting* joint action against the Black Hundreds and against the liberals.

How far Trotsky has forgotten (not for nothing has he associated with the liquidators) this elementary difference

between the Party and non-Party point of view on agreements, is shown by the following argument of his:

> "The representatives of the International must bring together the two sections of our divided parliamentary group and jointly with them ascertain the points of agreement and points of disagreement.... A detailed tactical resolution formulating the principles of parliamentary tactics may be drawn up...." (No. 1, pp. 29-30.)

Here you have a characteristic and typical example of the liquidationist presentation of the question! Trotsky's journal forgets about the Party; such a trifle is hardly worth remembering!

When different parties in Europe (Trotsky is fond of inappropriately talking about Europeanism) come to an agreement or unite, what they do is this: their respective representatives meet and first of all ascertain the points of disagreement (precisely what the International proposed in relation to Russia, without including in the resolution Kautsky's ill-considered statement that "the old Party no longer exists"[165]). Having ascertained the points of disagreement, the representatives decide *what decisions* (resolutions, conditions, etc.) on questions of tactics, organisation, etc., *should be submitted to the congresses of the two parties*. If they succeed in drafting unanimous decisions, the congresses decide whether to adopt them or not. If *differing* proposals are made, they too are submitted for final decision to the congresses of the two parties.

What appeals to the liquidators and Trotsky is only the *European* models of opportunism, but certainly not the models of European partisanship.

"A detailed tactical resolution" will be drawn up by the members of the Duma! This example should serve the Russian "advanced workers", with whom Trotsky has good reason to be so displeased, as a striking illustration of the lengths to which the groups in Vienna and Paris—who persuaded even Kautsky that there was "no Party" in Russia—go in their ludicrous project-mongering. But if it is sometimes possible to fool foreigners on this score, the Russian "advanced workers" (at the risk of provoking the terrible Trotsky to another outburst of displeasure) will laugh in the faces of these project-mongers.

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

"Detailed tactical resolutions," they will tell them, "are drawn up among us (we do not know how it is done among you non-Party people) by Party congresses and conferences, for example, those of 1907, 1908, 1910, 1912 and 1913. We shall gladly acquaint uninformed foreigners, as well as forgetful Russians, with our Party decisions, and still more gladly ask the representatives of the Seven, or the August bloc members, or Left-wingers or anybody else, to acquaint us with the resolutions of their congresses, or conferences, and to bring up at their next congress the definite question of the attitude they should adopt towards our resolutions, or towards the resolution of the neutral Lettish Congress of 1914, etc."

This is what the "advanced workers" of Russia will say to the various project-mongers, and this *has already been said* in the Marxist press, for example, by the organised Marxists of St. Petersburg. Trotsky chooses to ignore these published terms for the liquidators? So much the worse for Trotsky. It is our duty to warn our readers how ridiculous that "unity" (the August type of "unity"?) project-mongering is which refuses to reckon with the will of the majority of the class-conscious workers of Russia.

V. TROTSKY'S LIQUIDATIONIST VIEWS

As to the substance of his own views, Trotsky contrived to say as little as possible in his new journal. *Put Pravdy* (No. 37) has already commented on the fact that Trotsky has not said a word either on the question of the "underground" or on the slogan of working for a legal party, etc.* That, among other things, is why we say that when attempts are made to form a separate organisation which is to have *no* ideological and political physiognomy, it is *the worst* form of factionalism.

Although Trotsky has refrained from openly expounding his views, quite a number of passages in his journal show what kind of ideas he has been trying to smuggle in.

In the very first editorial article in the first issue of his journal, we read the following:

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* See pp. 158-61 of this volume.—*Ed.*

"The pro-revolutionary Social-Democratic Party in our country was a *workers*' party only in ideas and aims. Actually, it was an organisation of the Marxist intelligentsia, which led the awakening working class." (5.)

This is the old liberal and liquidationist tune, which is really the prelude to the *repudiation* of the Party. It is based on a distortion of the historical facts. The strikes of 1895-96 had already given rise to a *mass* working-class movement, which both in ideas and organisation was linked with the Social-Democratic movement. And in these strikes, in this economic and non-economic agitation, the "intelligentsia *led* the working class"!?

Or take the following exact statistics of political offences in the period 1901-03 compared with the preceding period.

Occupations of participants in the emancipation movement prosecuted for political offences (per cent)

Period	Agriculture	Industry and Commerce	Liberal professions and students	No definite occupation, and no occupation
1884-90	7.1	15.1	53.3	19.9
1901-03	9.0	46.1	28.7	8.0

We see that in the eighties, when there was as yet *no* Social-Democratic Party in Russia, and when the movement was "Narodnik", the intelligentsia predominated, accounting for over half the participants.

But the picture underwent a complete change in 1901-03, when a Social-Democratic Party already existed, and when the old *Iskra* was conducting its work. The intelligentsia were now a *minority* among the participants of the movement; the *workers* ("industry and commerce") were far more numerous than the intelligentsia, and the workers and peasants together constituted more than half the total.

It was precisely in the conflict of trends within the Marxist movement that the petty-bourgeois intellectualist *wing* of the Social-Democracy made itself felt, beginning with Economism (1895-1903) and continuing with Menshevism (1903-1908) and liquidationism (1908-1914). Trotsky

repeats the liquidationist slander against the Party and is afraid to mention the history of the twenty years' conflict of trends within the Party.

Here is another example.

"In its attitude towards parliamentarism, Russian Social-Democracy passed through the same three stages ... [as in other countries] ... first 'boycottism' ... then the acceptance in principle of parliamentary tactics, but ... [that magnificent "but", the "but" which Shchedrin translated as: The ears never grow higher than the forehead, never!*] ... for purely agitational purposes ... and lastly, the presentation from the Duma rostrum ... of current demands...." (No. 1, p. 34.)

This, too, is a liquidationist distortion of history. The distinction between the second and third stages was invented in order to smuggle in a defence of reformism and opportunism. Boycottism as a stage in "the attitude of Social-Democracy towards parliamentarism" never existed *either* in Europe (where anarchism has existed and continues to exist) *or* in Russia, where the boycott of the Bulygin Duma, for example, applied *only* to a definite institution, was *never* linked with "parliamentarism", and was engendered by the peculiar nature of the struggle between liberalism and Marxism for the continuation of the onslaught. Trotsky does not breathe a word about the way this struggle affected the conflict between the two trends in Marxism!

When dealing with history, one must explain concrete questions and the class roots of the different trends; anybody who wants to make a Marxist study of the struggle of classes and trends over the question of participation in the Bulygin Duma, will see therein the roots of the liberal-labour policy. But Trotsky "deals with" history only in order to *evade* concrete questions and to *invent* a justification, or a semblance of justification, for the present-day opportunists!

"Actually, all trends," he writes, "employ the same methods of struggle and organisation." "The outcries about the liberal danger in our working-class movement are simply a crude and sectarian travesty of reality." (No. 1, pp. 5 and 35.)

This is a very clear and very vehement defence of the liquidators. But we will take the liberty of quoting at least

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* Meaning the impossible.—*Ed.*

one small fact, one of the very latest. Trotsky merely slings words about; we should like the workers themselves to ponder over the facts.

It is a fact that *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* for March 13 wrote the following:

"*Instead of emphasising the definite and concrete task that confronts the working class, viz., to compel the Duma to throw out the bill* [*on the press*], *a vague formula is proposed of fighting for the 'uncurtailed slogans', and at the same time the illegal press is widely advertised, which can only lead to the relaxation of the workers' struggle for their legal press.*"

This is a clear, precise and documentary defence of the liquidationist policy and a criticism of the *Pravda* policy. Well, will any literate person say that both trends employ "the same methods of struggle and organisation" on this question? Will any literate person say that the liquidators are *not* pursuing a *liberal*-labour policy on this question, that the liberal menace to the working-class movement is purely imaginary?

The reason why Trotsky avoids facts and concrete references is because they relentlessly refute all his angry outcries and pompous phrases. It is very easy, of course, to strike an attitude and say: "a crude and sectarian travesty". Or to add a still more stinging and pompous catch-phrase, such as "emancipation from conservative factionalism".

But is this not very cheap? Is not this weapon borrowed from the arsenal of the period when Trotsky posed in all his splendour before audiences of high-school boys?

Nevertheless, the "advanced workers", with whom Trotsky is so angry, would like to be told plainly and clearly: Do you or do you not approve of the "method of struggle and organisation" that is definitely expressed in the above-quoted appraisal of a definite political campaign? If you do, then you are pursuing a liberal-labour policy, betraying Marxism and the Party; to talk of "peace" or of "unity" with *such* a policy, with groups which pursue *such* a policy, means deceiving yourself and others.

If not, then say so plainly. Phrases will not astonish, satisfy or intimidate the present-day workers.

Incidentally, the policy advocated by the liquidators in the above-quoted passage is a foolish one even from the

liberal point of view, for the passage of a bill in the Duma depends on "Zemstvo-Octobrists" of the type of Bennigsen, who has already shown his hand in the committee.

* * *

The old participants in the Marxist movement in Russia know Trotsky very well, and there is no need to discuss him for their benefit. But the younger generation of workers do not know him, and it is therefore necessary to discuss him, for he is typical of all the five groups abroad, which, in fact, are also vacillating between the liquidators and the Party.

In the days of the old *Iskra* (1901-03), these waverers, who flitted from the Economists to the Iskrists and back again, were dubbed "Tushino turncoats" (the name given in the Troublous Times in Rus to fighting men who went over from one camp to another[166]).

When we speak of liquidationism we speak of a definite ideological trend, which grew up in the course of many years, stems from Menshevism and Economism in the twenty years' history of Marxism, and is connected with the policy and ideology of a definite class—the liberal bourgeoisie.

The only ground the "Tushino turncoats" have for claiming that they stand above groups is that they "borrow" their ideas from one group one day and from another the next day. Trotsky was an ardent Iskrist in 1901-03, and Ryazanov described his role at the Congress of 1903 as "Lenin's cudgel". At the end of 1903, Trotsky was an ardent Menshevik, i.e., he deserted from the Iskrists to the Economists. He said that "between the old *Iskra* and the new lies a gulf". In 1904-05, he deserted the Mensheviks and occupied a vacillating position, now co-operating with Martynov (the Economist), now proclaiming his absurdly Left "permanent revolution" theory. In 1906-07, he approached the Bolsheviks, and in the spring of 1907 he declared that he was in agreement with Rosa Luxemburg.

In the period of disintegration, after long "non-factional" vacillation he again went to the right, and in August 1912, he entered into a bloc with the liquidators. He has now

deserted them again, although *in substance* he reiterates their shoddy ideas.

Such types are characteristic of the flotsam of past historical formations, of the time when the mass working-class movement in Russia was still dormant, and when every group had "ample room" in which to pose as a trend, group or faction, in short, as a "power", negotiating amalgamation with others.

The younger generation of workers should know exactly whom they are dealing with, when individuals come before them with incredibly pretentious claims, unwilling absolutely to reckon with *either* the Party decisions, which since 1908 have defined and established our attitude towards liquidationism, *or* with the experience of the present-day working-class movement in Russia, which has actually brought about the *unity* of the majority on the basis of full recognition of the aforesaid decisions.

BOOK REVIEW

I. Drozdov, *The Wages of Farm Labourers in Russia in Connection with the Agrarian Movement in 1905-06*. St. Petersburg (published by M. I. Semyonov), 1914. Pp. 68. Price 50 kopeks.

One cannot but welcome Mr. Drozdov's initiative in raising, in his pamphlet, an extremely interesting and important question. The author has taken the figures of the daily wages (expressed in terms both of money and of grain), the rye crop yield on private landlord fields during 1902-04, and the annual figures for the period 1905-10, and compared these data for different parts of European Russia.

The author found the biggest pay rises for 1905 in the south-western region (a ten per cent rise compared with 1902-04). The average increase for Russia was 1.2 per cent in 1905, and 12.5 per cent in 1906. From this the author draws the conclusion that wages rose most in regions in which agricultural capitalism is most developed, and the strike form of struggle (as distinct from what is known as the "riot and wreck" form) is most widespread. Strictly speaking, these figures are inadequate to support this conclusion. For example, the second highest rise in wages occurred in 1905 in the Urals region (a rise of 9.68 per cent, as against 10.35 per cent in the south-western region). If we take average wages for the *whole* of the post-revolutionary period, i.e., 1905-10, we shall get an index number of 110.3 (taking 1902-04 at 100) in the south-western region, and 121.7 in the Urals. The author, as it were, makes an "exception" for the Urals, on the basis of my book *The Development of Capitalism*. But in that book I made an exception for the Urals in studying workers' mass *migration*, not the level of wages in general.* The author's reference

* See present edition, Vol. 3, p. 586.—*Ed.*

to my book, therefore, is wrong. Nor can his reference to the very small percentage of private landlord farming in the Urals* be regarded as satisfactory. The author should have taken the more detailed gubernia figures and compared the rise in wages with the figures showing the relative *strength* of the agrarian movement in general, and of its strike form, "riot and wreck" form, and so on.

On the whole, the money wages of agricultural labourers throughout Russia rose *most* between 1905 and 1906. Taking the wages of 1902-04 at 100, the index number for 1905 and 1906 will be 101.2 and 112.5 respectively. The index numbers for the ensuing four years are: 114.2, 113.1, 118.4 and 119.6. It is clear that with the *general* rise in money wages as a result of the revolution, we see the direct and predominating influence of the struggle of 1905-06.

Referring our readers to Mr. Drozdov's excellent pamphlet for the details, we shall observe here that the author has no grounds whatever for describing as "manifestly impracticable" those demands of the peasants which virtually amounted to "smoking out the landlords" (p. 30). Equally groundless and unreasoned is his statement that in the "riot and wreck" regions the "struggle was waged for equalised land tenure, and, in general, for other equally petty-bourgeois, utopian demands" (p. 38). Firstly, the peasants fought, not only for land tenure, but for landownership ("smoking out"); secondly, they fought, not for equalised tenure, but for the transfer to them of the landed estates—that is something entirely different. Thirdly, what was and remains utopian is the subjective *hopes* (and "*theories*") of the Narodniks in the matter of "equality", "socialisation", "taking the land out of commercial circulation", and similar nonsense; but there was nothing "utopian" in the petty-bourgeois masses "smoking out" the feudalists. The author confuses the objective historical significance of the peasants' struggle for land—a struggle that was progressive-bourgeois and radical-bourgeois—with the subjective theories and hopes of the Narodniks, which were, and still are, utopian

* In this connection the author puts the northern region on a par with the Urals. But in the northern region, wages in 1905 dropped by six per cent, and in 1906 showed only an eight per cent rise.

and reactionary. Such confusion is profoundly erroneous, undialectical and unhistorical.

Comparing the averages for 1891-1900 with those for 1901-10, the author draws the general conclusion that daily *money* wages all over Russia rose by 25.5 per cent, while *real* wages, expressed in terms of grain, rose *only* by 3.9 per cent, i.e., underwent hardly any change at all. We would remark that, arranged to reflect money-wage rises during the above-mentioned decades, the order of the various regions is as follows: Lithuania 39 per cent, the Volga area 33 per cent, the Urals 30 per cent, the Ukraine 28 per cent, the central agricultural region 26 per cent, etc.

In conclusion, the author compares the rise in agricultural labourers' wages during the past two decades (1891-1900 and 1901-10) with the rise in ground-rent. It appears that for the whole of Russia, average wages rose from 52.2 kopeks per day to 66.3 kopeks, i.e., by 27 per cent. However, the price of land—it is well known that the price of land is capitalised rent—rose from 69.1 rubles per dessiatine to 132.4 rubles, *that is*, by 91 per cent. In other words, wages rose by one-fourth, while ground-rent *almost doubled*!

"And this circumstance," the author rightly concludes, "signifies only one thing, namely: the deterioration in the relative standard of living of the agricultural labourers in Russia, with a simultaneous relative rise in the standard of living of the landowning class.... The social gulf between the landlord class and the class of wage-labourers is steadily widening."

Prosveshcheniye No. 5,
May 1914
Signed: *V. I.*

Published according to
the text in *Prosveshcheniye*

CLARITY HAS BEEN ACHIEVED
CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKERS, PLEASE NOTE

In *Put Pravdy* No. 63, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group made a last attempt to ascertain whether the six deputies (the Chkheidze group) now intend—after the vast majority of the class-conscious workers have condemned their alliance with the liquidators—to take steps towards an agreement with the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma.[167]

The Russian Social-Democratic Labour group asked the "Social-Democratic group" whether it now intended *unreservedly* to recognise the decisions of the entire Marxist body of 1903 (the Programme) and of 1908-10 (condemnation of the liquidators). Why the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group put this question in the forefront, is clear. The decisions of 1903, 1908 and 1910 were adopted *prior to any splits* between the Marxists and the liquidators. These decisions are the banner of all Marxists. If any agreement between the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group and the "Social-Democratic group" is at all possible, then it is of course possible only on the basis of the unqualified recognition of these decisions, which were adopted before the split.

In issue No. 2 of *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, the Chkheidze group published an "Open Reply" in which clarity is at last achieved and which therefore deserves the most serious attention from all workers who seriously try to understand the causes of the disagreements, and want genuine unity.

1. THE PROGRAMME AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION

At the Marxist *Congress* which drew up the Programme (1903), the Bundists (Jewish liquidators) proposed that a demand be included in the Programme for "the establishment

of institutions that will guarantee them complete freedom of cultural development". This was opposed by the present-day liquidators Martynov, Martov and Koltsov. They argued, quite correctly, that this demand ran counter to the international principles of Social-Democracy. This demand was *rejected* by all votes against the vote of the Bundists (see the Minutes).

Marxists assert that the "establishment of institutions" is the same "cultural-national autonomy", which Social-Democracy rejects.

In their "Open Reply" the six deputies assert the contrary. They say: we advocated the "establishment of institutions", but we did not advocate cultural-national autonomy.

Very well, we say in reply; *let us assume* for a moment that the two are not the same. *But the Congress also rejected the "establishment of institutions"*. You know that perfectly well. You know that, to please the nationalists, *you have retreated from the Programme*. It was for this violation of the Programme that the Bundists, whose proposals the Congress rejected, complimented you.

After the Social-Democratic group made its declaration at the opening of the Fourth Duma, they wrote:

> "It may be pointed out that the formula of the Social-Democrats [i.e., liquidators] lacked clarity. That is quite true. *But the important thing is that the workers' deputies* [i.e., Chkheidze's supporters] *abandoned the rigid point of view* on which the official theory on the national question is based." (*Zeit* No. 9, editorial, column 3.)

The "official theory" is nothing more nor less than the *Programme*. The Bundists compliment Chkheidze and his friends for *infringing the Programme*. The Russian Social-Democratic Labour group asked: Is the "Social-Democratic group" willing to retract this infringement of the Programme?

The reply was clear: "This formula [i.e., establishment of institutions] contains absolutely nothing that the Social-Democratic group should retract" (cf. "Open Reply").

We refuse to retract this infringement of the Programme—such was the reply of the "Social-Democratic group".

2. THE DECISION OF 1908

The Russian Social-Democratic Labour group next asked the "Social-Democratic group" whether it was willing to recognise the 1908 decision of the Marxists, which was recently endorsed also by the Lettish conciliators.

This decision reads as follows:

> "Liquidationism is an attempt on the part of a certain section of the Party intelligentsia to liquidate [i.e., to dissolve, destroy, abolish, put an end to] the existing Party organisation, and to substitute for it an amorphous federation acting within legal bounds [i.e., within the law, in open existence] at all costs, even at the cost of openly abandoning the programme, tactics and traditions [i.e., the preceding experience] of the Party."

And this decision goes on to say that "*it is necessary to wage a most relentless ideological and organisational struggle against these liquidationist attempts*" (cf. Report, p. 38).[168]

This decision was adopted by the united Marxist body in the presence of representatives of all groups, including the liquidators (Dan, Axelrod and others), the Bundists, and so forth. It was adopted in December 1908, *before* there were any splits.

The Russian Social-Democratic Labour group asked the Chkheidze group whether it accepted *this* 1908 decision, which condemned liquidationism.

What did the Chkheidze group say in reply?

Not a word! Not a sound! It treated the decision of 1908 as though it did not exist. Incredible, but a fact. And this silence is more eloquent than words. It reveals an incredibly *arrogant* disregard for decisions. Decisions that are not to my liking are simply non-existent—such are the ethics of the liquidationist deputies.

The latter acted in the same way when it came to accepting deputy Jagiello into the group. It was pointed out to them that the 1908 decision rejected "unity" with Jagiello's *non*-Social-Democratic party. But to this they replied that in 1907, i.e., a year before this decision was adopted, the Social-Democratic group in the Second Duma had accepted as members the Lithuanian deputies who were unquestionably Social-Democrats. This means openly mocking at decisions.

3. THE 1910 DECISION

This decision reads as follows:

"The historical situation in the Social-Democratic movement in the period of bourgeois counter-revolution inevitably gives rise—*as a manifestation of the bourgeois influence on the proletariat*—on the one hand, to repudiation of the illegal Social-Democratic Party, belittling of its role and importance, and attempts to whittle down the programmatic and tactical tasks and the slogans of consistent Social-Democracy, etc., and on the other hand, to repudiation of Social-Democratic activities in the Duma and of the utilisation of legal possibilities, failure to understand the importance of either inability to apply consistent Social-Democratic tactics to the specific historical conditions prevailing at the present time, etc.

"An inalienable element of Social-Democratic, tactics under these conditions is the elimination of both these deviations by extending and intensifying Social-Democratic activities in all fields of the proletarian class struggle, and explanation of the dangers of these deviations."

This decision was adopted *unanimously*, prior to any splits, in the presence of representatives of *all* groups. It condemns liquidationism and otzovism.

The Russian Social-Democratic Labour group asked the "Social-Democratic group" whether it recognised that decision. The latter replied: "The 1910 decisions do not even contain the *word* liquidationism".

The "word" is not there! But *whom* did the entire Marxist body have in mind when it condemned the "repudiation of the illegal Social-Democratic Party, the belittling of its role and importance"? Whom if not the liquidators?

Lastly, we have a most authentic document, published three years ago and refuted by nobody, a document emanating from all the "national" Marxists (Letts, Bundists and Poles), and from Trotsky (the liquidators cannot imagine better witnesses). This document plainly states that "it would in fact be desirable to call the trend mentioned in the resolution liquidationism, which must be combated...."

How can the deputies have the effrontery to mislead the workers in this unblushing manner?

The "Social-Democratic group" refuses to recognise the 1910 decisions! Instead, it declares that it is in "complete agreement" with the liquidationist *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*.

The 1903, 1908 and 1910 decisions of the entire Marxist body do not exist for the liquidationist deputies. For them only the "decisions" of the liquidationist newspaper exist.

4. "TRENDS"

While flouting direct decisions and ignoring the will of the workers, the "Social-Democratic group" dilates on the usefulness of all "trends of Marxism".

Marxists all over the world take the *workers' organisations* as their basis. In our country, however, some people want to take elusive "trends" as their basis. In Germany and in fact all over the world, the Social-Democrats unite the *workers*, their local cells, organisations and groups. In our country, some people want to unite "trends".

"All trends among the Marxists"! But among the liquidators alone there are at least two "trends": *Borba* and *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, disputing with each other as to which of them is the best custodian of the "August precepts".

The idea of uniting ten "trends", all of them isolated from the masses, is hopeless. The idea of uniting *all workers* willing to build up the entire Marxist body is a great cause, which is being accomplished before our very eyes with the ardent support of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group.

* * *

Clarity has been achieved. The overwhelming majority of the workers (see the returns of the insurance elections, group collections and the correspondence between the workers' groups and the two groups in the Duma) have declared in favour of the Marxists, in favour of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group, and against the liquidators. The August bloc has broken down; the Lettish Social-Democrats and Buryanov have left them, and the supporters of An and of *Borba* are leaving them; the six deputies grouped around Chkheidze have joined *the worst* and most liquidationist fragment of the August bloc.

The workers must draw their own conclusions.

Trudovaya Pravda No. 7,
June 5, 1914

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ADVENTURISM

When Marxists say that certain groups are adventurist, they have in mind the very definite and specific social and historical features of a phenomenon, one that every class-conscious worker should be familiar with.

The history of Russian Social-Democracy teems with tiny groups, which sprang up for an hour, for several months, with no roots whatever among the masses (and politics without the masses are adventurist politics), and with no serious and stable principles. In a petty-bourgeois country, which is passing through a historical period of bourgeois reconstruction, it is *inevitable* that a motley assortment of intellectuals should join the workers, and that these intellectuals should attempt to form all kinds of groups, adventurist in character in the sense referred to above.

Workers who do not wish to be fooled should subject every group to the closest scrutiny and ascertain how serious its principles are, and what roots it has in the masses. Put no faith in words; subject everything to the closest scrutiny—such is the motto of the Marxist workers.

Let us recall the struggle between Iskrism and Economism in 1895-1902. These were two trends of Social-Democratic thought. One of them was proletarian and Marxist, which had stood the test of the three years' campaign conducted by *Iskra*, and been tested by all advanced workers, who recognised as their own the precisely and clearly formulated decisions on Iskrist tactics and organisation. The other, Economism, was a *bourgeois*, opportunist trend, which strove to subordinate the workers to the liberals.

Besides these two important trends, there were a host of small and rootless groups (*Svoboda*, *Borba*,[169] the group

that published the Berlin leaflets, and so forth). These have long been forgotten. Though there were no few honest and conscientious Social-Democrats in these groups, they *proved* adventurist in the sense that they *had no* stable or serious principles, programme, tactics, organisation, and no roots among the masses.

It is thus, and only thus—by studying the history of the movement, by pondering over the ideological significance of definite theories, and by putting phrases to the test of facts—that serious people should appraise present-day trends and groups.

Only simpletons put faith in words.

Pravdism is a trend which has given precise Marxist answers and resolutions (of 1908, 1910, 1912 and 1913—in February and in the summer) on all questions of tactics, organisation and programme. The continuity of these decisions since the time of the old *Iskra* (1901-03), let alone the London (1907) Congress, has been of the strictest. The correctness of these decisions has been proved by the five or six years' (1908-14) experience of all the advanced workers, who have accepted these decisions *as their own*. Pravdism has united four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia (5,300 Social-Democratic workers' groups out of 6,700 in two-and-a-half years).

Liquidationism is a trend with a history that goes back almost twenty years, for it is the direct continuation of Economism (1895-1902) and the offspring of Menshevism (1903-08). The liberal-bourgeois roots and the liberal-bourgeois content of this trend have been recognised in official decisions (1908 and 1910; small wonder that the liquidators are afraid even to publish them in full!). The liquidators' liberal ideas are all linked up and of a piece: down with the "underground", down with the "pillars", for an open party, against the "strike craze", against the higher forms of the struggle, and so forth. In liberal-bourgeois "society" the liquidators have long enjoyed the strong sympathy of the Cadets and of the non-Party (and near Party) intellectuals. Liquidationism is a serious trend, only not a Marxist, not a proletarian trend, but a liberal-bourgeois one. Only witless people can talk about "peace" with the liquidators.

Now take the other groups which pose as "trends". We shall enumerate them: 1) the *Vperyod* group plus Alexinsky; 2) ditto plus Bogdanov; 3) ditto plus Voinov; 4) the Plekhanovites; 5) the "pro-Party Bolsheviks" (actually conciliators: Mark Sommer and his crowd); 6) the Trotskyists (i.e., Trotsky even minus Semkovsky); 7) the "Caucasians" (i.e., An minus the Caucasus).

We have enumerated the groups mentioned *in the press*. In Russia and abroad they have stated that they want to be *separate* "trends" and groups. We have tried to list all the Russian groups, omitting the non-Russian.

All these groups, without exception, represent sheer adventurism.

"Why? Where is the proof?" the reader will ask.

Proof is provided by the history of the last decade (1904-14), which is most eventful and significant. During these ten years members of these groups have displayed the most helpless, most pitiful, most ludicrous vacillation on serious questions of tactics and organisation, and have shown their *utter inability* to create trends with roots among the masses.

Take Plekhanov, the best of them. The services he rendered in the past were immense. During the twenty years between 1883 and 1903 he wrote a large number of splendid essays, especially those against the opportunists, Machists and Narodniks.

But since 1903 Plekhanov has been vacillating in the most ludicrous manner on questions of tactics and organisation: 1) 1903, August—a Bolshevik; 2) 1903, November (*Iskra* No. 52)—in favour of peace with the "*opportunist*" Mensheviks; 3) 1903, December—a Menshevik, and an ardent one; 4) 1905, spring—after the victory of the Bolsheviks—in favour of "unity" between "brothers at strife"; 5) the end of 1905 till mid-1906—a Menshevik; 6) mid-1906—started, on and off, to move away from the Mensheviks, and in London, in 1907, censured them (Cherevanin's admission) for their "organisational anarchism"; 7) 1908—a break with the liquidators; 8) 1914—a new turn towards the liquidators. Plekhanov advocates "unity" with them, without being able to utter an intelligible word to explain on what *terms* this unity is to be achieved, why unity with *Mr*. Potresov

has become possible, and what guarantees there are that any terms agreed to will be carried out.

After a decade of such experience we can safely say that Plekhanov is capable of producing ripples, but he has not produced, nor will he ever produce, a "trend".

We quite understand the Pravdists, who willingly published Plekhanov's articles against the liquidators. They could not very well reject articles which, in full accord with the decisions of 1908-10, were directed against the liquidators. Now Plekhanov has begun to repeat—with the liquidators, with Bogdanov and the rest—phrases about the unity of "all trends". We emphatically condemn this line, which should be relentlessly combated.

Nowhere in the world do the workers' parties unite groups of intellectuals and "trends"; they unite *workers* on the following terms: (1) recognition and application of definite Marxist decisions on questions of tactics and organisation; (2) submission of the minority of class-conscious workers to the majority.

This unity, on the basis of absolute repudiation of the opponents of the "underground", was achieved by the Pravdists in the course of two-and-a-half years (1912-14) to the extent of four-fifths. Witless people may abuse the Pravdists and call them factionalists, splitters, and so forth, but these phrases and abuse will not wipe out the unity of the workers....

Plekhanov now threatens to destroy this unity of the majority. We calmly and firmly say to the workers: put no faith in words. Put them to the test of facts, and you will see that every step taken by every one of the above-mentioned adventurist groups more and more glaringly reveals their helpless and pitiful vacillation.

Rabochy No. 7,
June 9, 1914
Signed: *V. Ilyin*

Published according to
the text in *Rabochy*

THE LIQUIDATORS AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LETTISH MARXISTS

What worker does not remember the noise the liquidators raised when, in a special issue of our newspaper, we acquainted the reader with the latest decisions of the Lettish Marxists and remarked that the Letts had paid tribute to the spirit of compromise while at the same time dealing a death blow at the liquidationist August bloc.*

The liquidators have used every means in their power to challenge this conclusion. All the resourcefulness of Martov, all the ... truthfulness of Dan, all the wit and brilliant literary talent of Semkovsky and Yonov—everything has been mobilised for this purpose. The liquidators have been determined at all cost to "prove" that the Lettish Congress did not condemn the liquidators, did not come out against the August bloc, and so on and so forth. In a word, "It's not me, it's not my horse, I'm not the driver".**

Now, after a lapse of only two or three months, the journal of the liquidators themselves (*Nasha Zarya* No. 4) has published an article by Mr. Weiss, the most "prominent" Lettish liquidator, who *fully confirms* our own appraisal of events.

Mr. Weiss is a most vigorous opponent of ours. He heaps harsh "criticism" on the Russian "Leninists" and the Lettish majority. However, he has the courage to openly admit defeat, while promising to go on fighting for his liquidationist views. He does not shift and shuffle; he does not, like Semkovsky, try to prove that white is black and vice versa. One may sharply dispute with such an opponent,

* See pp. 177-85 of this volume.—*Ed.*
** A Russian proverb.—*Ed.*

but he nevertheless commands respect for not having recourse to the trivial methods of the Semkovskys.

Mr. Weiss writes:

"The predominant tendency there [at the Congress] among the Lettish Marxists, by a majority of one, and, on some questions, a majority of two votes, was one of sympathy ... with the 'Lenin circle'."

"The Fourth Congress of the Lettish Marxists is an attempt to revert to the old ... Bolshevik ideology."

"The resolution on the Duma group was adopted unanimously. It was a big concession *on the part of the minority* of the Congress [that is, a concession to the "Leninists"]."

"The Lenin circle can count on the official support of the Letts", and so on.

The writer makes the reservation that "the minority succeeded somewhat in marring Lenin's triumph". He calls (and rightly so!) "curious" the concessions made by the majority to the conciliators.

But he clearly and unequivocally recognises the fact that the Congress took an anti-liquidationist stand, and, on the main issue, took sides with the Pravdists.

It is the same old story. For two or three months the liquidators raise a hullabaloo, only to admit afterwards that it was we who correctly presented the facts in the first instance.

To what lengths the liquidators sometimes go in their striving to "explain" unpalatable Party decisions can be seen from the following. In December 1908, as is known, the all-Russia conference of Marxists *rejected* the proposal to amalgamate with Jagiello's party (the P.S.P.). This was done in the most emphatic form—by proceeding with the agenda without debating the motion for amalgamation with the non-Social-Democratic party of deputy Jagiello. At their Congress in 1914, the Letts endorsed all the decisions adopted in 1908, thereby declaring their refusal to have the non-Social-Democrat Jagiello admitted to the Social-Democratic group. This decision is most unpalatable to the liquidators.

And yet in *Zeit*, the newspaper of the Jewish liquidators, we find this decision "explained" in the following manner:

"What does proceeding with the agenda mean? It means that the meeting does not want to put the motion to the vote, does not want

either to reject or adopt it. In such cases it calls the next business. The question of amalgamation with the Jagiello trend was simply left open [!] at the meeting of 1908." (*Zeit* No. 17.)

Is not such an "explanation" of Party decisions sheer ... impudence?

When the liquidators' proposal for amalgamation with the Jagiello trend was rejected, F. Dan wrote at the time (in 1908) in his official press report:

"At the proposal of the Polish delegation [the Polish Social-Democrats] the conference refused even to discuss our resolution and passed on to the next business. In this minor fact, circle intolerance and circle habits of thought have apparently reached their uttermost limit." (F. Dan's Report, p. 45.)

F. Dan used this strong language because he knew that proceeding with the agenda meant a *flat rejection* of the proposal for amalgamation with Jagiello's non-Social-Democratic party. And now this flat rejection is "explained" to us as meaning that the question has been "left open", and that everyone is free to decide it in his own way! This is really the last straw in the flouting of Marxist decisions.

No amount of wriggling will help the liquidators. The Marxist line has been endorsed by life itself. Events in the Lettish Social-Democratic movement confirm this no less strikingly than the entire course of the working-class movement throughout Russia does.

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THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS PRESS

There is nothing more important to class-conscious workers than to have an *understanding of the significance* of their movement and a *thorough knowledge* of it. The only source of strength of the working-class movement—and an invincible one at that—is the class-consciousness of the workers and the broad scope of their struggle, that is, the participation in it of the *masses* of the wage-workers.

The St. Petersburg Marxist press, which has been in existence for years, publishes exclusive, excellent, indispensable and easily verifiable material on the scope of the working-class movement and the various trends predominating in it. Only those who wish to conceal the truth can ignore this material, as the liberals and liquidators do.

Complete figures concerning the collections made for the Pravdist (Marxist) and liquidationist newspapers in St. Petersburg for the period between January 1 and May 13, 1914, have been compiled by Comrade V.A.T.[170] We publish his table below in full, and shall quote round figures in the body of this article as occasion arises, so as not to burden the reader with statistics.

The following is Comrade V.A.T.'s table. (See pp. 364-65.)

First of all we shall deal with the figures showing the *number* of workers' groups. These figures cover the whole period of existence of the Pravdist and liquidationist newspapers. Number of *workers*' groups:

	Supporting the Pravdist newspapers	Supporting the liquidationist newspapers
For 1912	620	89
For 1913	2,181	661
1914, from Jan. 1 to May 13 .	2,873	667
Total	5,674	1,421

Collections for Marxist (Pravdist) and from January 1

Collections made by	St. Petersburg				Moscow			
	Pravdist		Liquidationist		Pravdist		Liquidationist	
	Number of collections	Sum collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sum collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sum collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sum collected (rubles)
Workers' groups . . .	2,024	13,943.24	308	2,231.98	130	865.00	25	263.52
Total from non-workers	325	1,256.92	165	1,799.40	46	260.51	24	1,137.30
including:								
Student and youth groups	26	369.49	19	292.13	8	119.30	3	21.00
Groups of "adherents", "friends", etc.	8	164.00	14	429.25	8	42.10	5	892.00
Other groups	2	8.00	6	72.60	1	2.00	—	—
Individuals	281	650.96	120	966.72	29	61.63	14	197.80
Unspecified	8	64.47	6	38.70	2	33.50	2	26.50
From abroad	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total . . .	2,349	15,200.16	473	4,103.38	176	1,125.51	49	1,400.82

Liquidationist newspapers in St. Petersburg to May 13, 1914

Provinces				Total			
Pravdist		Liquidationist		Pravdist		Liquidationist	
Number of collections	Sum collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sum collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sum collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sum collected (rubles)
719	4,125.86	338	2,800.62	2,873	18,934.10	671	5,296.12
332	1,082.79	230	2,113.90	713	2,650.01	453	6,759.77
20	162.13	23	317.09	54	650.92	45	630.22
28	252.72	35	1,129.35	42	458.82	54	2,450.60
30	115.29	24	113.52	33	125.29	30	186.12
221	332.05	132	443.80	531	1,046.62	266	1,608.32
33	220.60	16	110.14	43	318.57	24	175.34
—	—	—	—	10	49.79	34	1,709.17
1,051	5,208.65	568	4,914.52	3,586	21,584.11	1,124	12,055.89

The total number of groups is 7,095. Of course, there are groups which made several collections, but separate data for these are not available.

We see that *only* one-fifth of the total number of workers' groups are in sympathy with the liquidators. In two-and-a-half years, Pravdism, Pravdist decisions and Pravdist tactics have *united* four-fifths of Russia's class-conscious workers. This fact of workers' unity can well bear comparison with the phrases about "unity" uttered by the various grouplets of intellectuals, the Vperyodists, Plekhanovites, Trotskyists, etc., etc.

Let us compare the figures for 1913 and 1914 (those for 1912 are not comparable, because *Pravda* appeared in April, and *Luch* five months later). We shall find that the number of Pravdist groups has grown by 692, *i.e.*, *31.7 per cent*, whereas the liquidationist groups have gone up by 10, *i.e.*, *1.5 per cent*. Hence, the workers' readiness to support the Pravdist newspapers has grown *20 times as fast* as their readiness to support the liquidationist newspapers.

Let us see how the workers in various parts of Russia are divided according to trend:

	Per cent of total workers' groups	
	Pravdist	Liquidationist
St. Petersburg	86	14
Moscow	83	17
Provinces	68	32

The inference is clear: the more politically developed the masses of the workers are, and the higher their level of class-consciousness and political activity, *the higher* is the number of Pravdists among them. In St. Petersburg the liquidators have been almost completely dislodged (fourteen out of a hundred); they still have a precarious hold in the provinces (32 out of 100), where the masses are politically less educated.

It is highly instructive to note that figures from an entirely different source, namely, those giving the number of workers' delegates elected during the Insurance Board elections, tally to a remarkable degree with those of the workers' groups. During the election of the Metropolitan Insurance Board, 37 Pravdist and 7 liquidationist delegates were

elected, i.e., 84 per cent and 16 per cent respectively. Of the total number of delegates elected, the Pravdists constituted 70 per cent (37 out of 53), and at the election of the *All-Russia* Insurance Board they obtained 47 out of 57, i.e., 82 per cent. The liquidators, non-party people and Narodniks form a small minority of workers, who still remain under bourgeois influence.

To proceed. The following are interesting figures on the average amounts collected by workers' groups:

	Average amounts collected by workers' groups	
	Pravdist (rubles)	Liquidationist (rubles)
St. Petersburg	6.88	7.24
Moscow	6.65	10.54
Provinces	5.74	8.28
Whole of Russia	6.58	7.89

The Pravdist groups show a natural, understandable and, so to speak, normal tendency: the average contribution from the average workers' group rises with the increase in the average earnings of the working masses.

In the case of the liquidators, we see, apart from the spurt in the Moscow groups (of which there are only 25 in all!), that the average contributions from the provincial groups are *higher* than those from the St. Petersburg groups! How are we to explain this odd phenomenon?

Only a more detailed analysis of the figures could provide a satisfactory reply to this question, but that would be a laborious task. Our conjecture is that the liquidators unite the minority of the higher-paid workers in certain sections of industry. It has been observed all over the world that such workers cling to liberal and opportunist ideas. In St. Petersburg, the longest to put up with the liquidators were the printing workers, and it was only during the last elections in their Union, on April 27, 1914, that the Pravdists won half the seats on the Executive and a majority of the seats for alternate members. In all countries the printers are most inclined towards opportunism, and some grades among them are highly paid workers.

If our conclusion about the minority of the workers, the labour aristocracy, being in sympathy with the liquidators

is merely conjectural, there can be no doubt whatever where *individuals* are concerned. Of the contributions made by non-workers, *more than half* came from individuals (531 out of 713 in our case, 266 out of 453 in the case of the liquidators). The average contribution from this source in our case is R.1.97 whereas among the liquidators it is *R.6.05!*

In the first case, the contributions obviously came from lower-paid office workers, civil servants, etc., and from the petty-bourgeois elements of a semi-proletarian character. In the case of the liquidators, however, we see that they have rich friends among the bourgeoisie.

These rich friends from among the bourgeoisie take still more definite shape as "groups of adherents, friends, etc." These groups collected R.458.82 for us, i.e., two per cent of the total sum collected, the average donation per group being R.10.92, which is only half as much again as the average donation of workers' groups. For the liquidators, however, these groups collected R.2,450.60, i.e., over 20 per cent of the total sum collected, the average donation per group being *R.45.39*, i.e., *six times* the average collected by workers' groups!

To this we add the collections made abroad, where bourgeois students are the main contributors. We received R.49.79 from this source, i.e., less than one-fourth of one per cent; the liquidators received R.1,709.17, i.e., *14 per cent*.

If we add up individuals, "adherents and friends", and collections made abroad, the total amount collected from these sources will be as follows:

Pravdists—R.1,555.23, i.e., *7 per cent* of the total collections.

Liquidators—R.5,768.09, i.e., *48 per cent* of the total collections.

From this source we received less than one-tenth of what we received from the workers' groups (R.18,934). This source gave the liquidators *more* than they received from the workers' groups (R.5,296)!

The inference is clear: the liquidationist newspaper is *not* a workers' but a *bourgeois* newspaper. It is run mainly on funds contributed by *rich friends from among the bourgeoisie*.

As a matter of fact, the liquidators are far more dependent upon the bourgeoisie than our figures show. The Pravdist newspapers have *frequently* published their financial reports for public information. These reports have shown that our newspaper, by adding collections to its income, is paying its way. With a circulation of 40,000 (the average for May 1914), this is understandable, in spite of confiscations and a dearth of advertisements. The liquidators, however, published their report *only once* (*Luch* No. 101), showing a deficit of 4,000 rubles. After this, they adopted the usual bourgeois custom of not publishing reports. With a circulation of 15,000, their newspaper cannot avoid a deficit, and evidently this is covered again and again by their rich friends from among the bourgeoisie.

Liberal-labour politicians like to drop hints about an "*open* workers' party", but they do not like to *reveal* to genuine workers their actual dependence upon the bourgeoisie! It is left for us, "underground" workers, to teach the liquidator-liberals the benefit of open reports....

The overall ratio of worker and non-worker collections is as follows:

Collected by	Out of every ruble collected for	
	Pravdist newspapers	liquidationist newspapers
Workers	87 kopeks	44 kopeks
Non-workers . . .	13 "	56 "
Total	1.00 ruble	1.00 ruble

The Pravdists get one-seventh of their aid collections from the bourgeoisie and, as we have seen, from its most democratic and least wealthy sections. The liquidationist undertaking is *largely* a bourgeois undertaking, which is supported only by a minority of the workers.

The figures concerning the sources of funds also reveal to us the class status of the readers and buyers of the newspapers.

Voluntary contributions are made only by regular readers, who most intelligently sympathise with the trend of the given newspaper. In its turn, the trend of the given newspaper willy-nilly "adapts itself" to the more "influential" section of its reading public.

The deductions that follow from our figures are, first, theoretical, i.e., such as will help the working class to understand the conditions of its movement, and secondly, practical deductions, which will give us direct guidance in our activities.

It is sometimes said that there is not one working-class press in Russia, but two. Even Plekhanov repeated this statement not long ago. But that is not true. Those who say this betray sheer ignorance, if not a secret desire to help the liquidators spread bourgeois influence among the workers. Long ago and repeatedly (for example, in 1908 and 1910), the Party decisions clearly, definitely, and directly pointed to the bourgeois nature of liquidationism. Articles in the Marxist press have explained this truth hundreds of times.

The experience of a daily newspaper, which openly appeals to the masses, was bound to *disclose* the real *class* character of the liquidationist *trend*. And that is what it did. The liquidationist newspaper has indeed proved to be a bourgeois undertaking, which is supported by a minority of the workers.

Moreover, let us not forget that almost up to the spring of 1914 the liquidationist newspaper was the mouthpiece of the August bloc. It was only lately that the Letts withdrew from it, and Trotsky, Em-El, An, Buryanov and Yegorov have left, or are leaving, the liquidators. The break-up of the bloc is continuing. The near future is bound to reveal still more clearly the bourgeois character of the liquidationist *trend* and the sterility of the intellectualist *grouplets*, such as the Vperyodists, Plekhanovites, Trotskyists, etc.

The practical deductions may be summed up in the following points:

1) 5,674 workers' groups united by the Pravdists in less than two-and-a-half years is a fairly large number, considering the harsh conditions obtaining in Russia. But this is only a beginning. We need, not thousands, but tens of thousands of workers' groups. We must intensify our activities tenfold. Ten rubles collected in kopeks from hundreds of workers are more important and valuable, both from the ideological and organisational point of view, than a hundred rubles from rich friends among the bourgeoisie.

Even from the financial aspect, experience goes to prove that it is possible to run a well-established workers' newspaper with the aid of workers' kopeks, but impossible to do so with the aid of bourgeois rubles. The liquidationist undertaking is a bubble, which is bound to burst.

2) We lag behind in the provinces, where 32 per cent of the workers' groups support the liquidators! Every class-conscious worker must exert every effort to put an end to this lamentable and disgraceful state of affairs. We must bring all our weight to bear in the provinces.

3) The rural workers are apparently still almost untouched by the movement. Difficult as work in this field may be, we must press forward with it in the most vigorous manner.

4) Like a mother who carefully tends a sick child and gives it better nourishment, the class-conscious workers must take more care of the districts and factories where the workers are sick with liquidationism. This malady, which emanates from the bourgeoisie, is inevitable in a young working-class movement, but with proper care and persistent treatment, it will pass without any serious after-effects. To provide the sick workers with more plentiful nourishment in the shape of Marxist literature, to explain more carefully and in more popular form the history and tactics of the Party and the meaning of the Party decisions on the bourgeois nature of liquidationism, to explain at greater length the urgent necessity of proletarian unity, i.e., the submission of the minority of the workers to the majority, the submission of the one-fifth to the four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia—such are some of the most important tasks confronting us.

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Symposium *Marxism and Liquidationism*, Part II. Priboi Publishers, St. Petersburg, 1914
Signed: *V. Ilyin*

Published according to the text of the symposium verified with that of the newspaper *Trudovaya Pravda*

LEFT-WING NARODISM AND MARXISM

Marxists have repeatedly spoken about the importance of the free mobilisation (i.e., the buying, selling and mortgaging) of peasant land. This real and practical problem affords a striking illustration of the petty-bourgeois and even *positively reactionary* character of our Narodniks.

All Narodniks, from the semi-Cadets of *Russkoye Bogatstvo* ("Social-Cadets" as Chernov, Vikhlayev and similar people once rightly called them) to the ultra-"Left" Narodniks of *Stoikaya Mysl*, are opposed to the free mobilisation of peasant land in general, and of allotment land in particular.

The Marxists, however, openly state in their *Programme* that they will "*always and invariably oppose any attempt to check the course of economic progress*".

The economic development of Russia, as of the whole world, proceeds from feudalism to capitalism, and through large-scale, machine, capitalist production to socialism.

Pipe-dreaming about a "different" way to socialism other than that which leads through the *further* development of capitalism, through large-scale, machine, *capitalist* production, is, in Russia, characteristic either of the liberal gentlemen, or of the backward, petty proprietors (the petty bourgeoisie). These dreams, which still clog the brains of the Left Narodniks, merely reflect the backwardness (reactionary nature) and feebleness of the petty bourgeoisie.

Class-conscious workers all over the world, Russia included, are becoming more and more convinced of the correctness of Marxism, for life itself is proving to them that only large-scale, machine production rouses the workers, enlightens and organises them, and creates the *objective* conditions for a *mass* movement.

When *Put Pravdy* reaffirmed the well-known Marxist axiom that capitalism is progressive as compared with feudalism,* and that the idea of checking the development of capitalism is a utopia, most absurd, reactionary, and harmful to the working people, Mr. N. Rakitnikov, the Left Narodnik (in *Smelaya Mysl* No. 7), accused *Put Pravdy* of having undertaken the "not very honourable task of putting a gloss upon the capitalist noose".

Anyone interested in Marxism and in the experience of the international working-class-movement would do well to ponder over this! One rarely meets with such amazing ignorance of Marxism as that displayed by Mr. N. Rakitnikov and the Left Narodniks, except perhaps among bourgeois economists.

Can it be that Mr. Rakitnikov has not read *Capital*, or *The Poverty of Philosophy*, or *The Communist Manifesto*? If he has not, then it is pointless to talk about socialism. That will be a ridiculous waste of time.

If he has read them, then he ought to know that the *fundamental* idea running through *all* Marx's works, an idea which since Marx has been confirmed in all countries, is that capitalism is *progressive* as compared with feudalism. It is in this sense that Marx and all Marxists "put a gloss" (to use Rakitnikov's clumsy and stupid expression) "upon the capitalist noose"!

Only anarchists or petty-bourgeois, who do not understand the conditions of historical development, can say: a feudal noose or a capitalist one—it makes no difference, for both are nooses! That means confining oneself to *condemnation*, and failing to understand the *objective* course of economic development.

Condemnation means our subjective dissatisfaction. The objective course of feudalism's evolution into capitalism enables *millions* of working people—thanks to the growth of cities, railways, large factories and the migration of workers—to *escape* from a condition of feudal torpor. Capitalism itself rouses and organises them.

Both feudalism and capitalism oppress the workers and strive to keep them in ignorance. But feudalism *can* keep,

* See pp. 298-301 of this volume.—*Ed.*

and *for centuries* has kept, millions of peasants in a downtrodden state (for example, in Russia from the ninth to the nineteenth century, in China for even more centuries). But capitalism *cannot* keep the workers in a state of immobility, torpor, downtroddenness and ignorance.

The centuries of feudalism were centuries of torpor for the working people.

The decades of capitalism have roused millions of wage-workers.

Your failure to understand this, gentlemen of the Left-Narodnik fraternity, shows that you do not understand a thing about socialism, or that you are converting socialism from a struggle of millions engendered by objective conditions into a benevolent old gentleman's fairy-tale!

To advocate the slightest *restriction of the freedom* to mobilise allotment land *actually* amounts to becoming a reactionary, an abettor of the feudalists.

Restriction of the freedom to mobilise allotment land *retards* economic development, *hinders* the formation, growth, awakening and organisation of the wage-worker class, *worsens* the conditions of the workers and peasants, and *increases* the influence of the feudalists.

The Peshekhonovs and Rakitnikovs are *in fact* abettors of precisely these "categories", when they advocate restriction of the freedom to mobilise peasant land.

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THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN RUSSIA

The agrarian question in Russia is of tremendous importance at the present time. It is common knowledge that this question has been given front-rank prominence, not only by the broad masses of the people, but also by the government.

Historically, the movement of 1905 was characterised precisely by the fact that the vast majority of the population in Russia, namely, the peasantry, made the agrarian question a key issue. Both the liberal-bourgeois party and the workers' party took this fact into consideration in their respective programmes. On the other hand, when the government, in its June Third regime, brought about an alliance between the landlords and the upper stratum of the bourgeoisie, it made the agrarian question the pivot of its policy (the forcible destruction of communal landownership and the conversion of allotment land into private property, mainly in the homestead system).

What is the economic essence of the agrarian question in Russia? It is the reorganisation of Russia on bourgeois-democratic lines. Russia has become a capitalist, bourgeois country, but the system of landownership in this country has to a very large degree remained feudal, as regards both landlordism and peasant allotment ownership. In very many cases the system of land economy has remained feudal: labour service and the corvée, under which the semi-ruined, pauperised, and starving petty proprietors rent land, grassland and pastures and borrow money from the landlords; with the obligation to repay the debt by working on the "squire's" land.

The more feudalist rural Rus lags behind industrial, commercial, capitalist Russia, the more complete will be

the inevitable break-up of the ancient, feudalist system of landownership, both landlordism and allotment ownership.

The landlords tried to effect this break-up in the landlord fashion, to suit the interests of the landlords, retaining their own landed estates, and helping the kulaks to grab the peasants' land. The majority of the peasants tried to do this in peasant fashion, to suit the interests of the peasants.

In either case the reform *remains bourgeois in character*. In his *Poverty of Philosophy*, in *Capital*, and in *Theories of Surplus-Value*, Marx amply proved that the bourgeois economists often demanded the *nationalisation* of the land, i.e., the conversion of all land into public property, and that this measure was a *fully bourgeois* measure. Capitalism will develop more widely, more freely and more quickly from such a measure. This measure is very progressive and very democratic. It will do away completely with serfdom, will break the monopoly in land, and will abolish *absolute* rent (the existence of which the liquidator P. Maslov, trailing in the wake of bourgeois scholars, erroneously denies). It will speed up the development of the productive forces in agriculture and purge the class movement among the wage-workers.

But, we repeat, this is a *bourgeois*-democratic measure. Like Mr. V—dimov in *Smelaya Mysl*, the Left Narodniks persist in calling the *bourgeois* nationalisation of the land "*socialisation*" and persistently ignore Marx's comprehensive explanations of what nationalisation of land under capitalism implies.

The Left Narodniks persist in reiterating the purely bourgeois theory of "labour economy" and its development under "socialisation", whereas, in fact, with the nationalisation of the land, it is *capitalist* landownership in its purest form, free of feudalism, that will inevitably develop more widely and quickly.

The catchword of "socialisation of the land" merely denotes the Left Narodniks' utter failure to grasp the principles of Marx's political economy, and the fact that they are going over (stealthily, by fits and starts, and often unconsciously) to the side of bourgeois political economy.

PROLETARIA
LIBMAO
NOT FOR
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Marx advised class-conscious workers, while forming a clear idea of the bourgeois character of all agrarian reforms under capitalism (including the nationalisation of the land), to support bourgeois-democratic reforms as against the feudalists and serfdom. But Marxists cannot confuse bourgeois measures with socialism.

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THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF VITUPERATION

(ON THE QUESTION OF UNITY)

Can abusive language have political significance?—the reader will ask.

Undoubtedly. Here is an example taken from a field all class-conscious workers are interested in.

We, Pravdists, are abused for "usurpers", people who seize power illegally. *In March 1912*, the Plekhanovites, Vperyodists, Trotskyists, the liquidators, and a host of other groups "united" to abuse us in this way.

Now, *in June 1914*, after a lapse of two odd years, the supporters of *Yedinstvo*, the liquidators, Vperyodists, Trotskyists and probably a dozen other groups, are once more "*uniting*" to abuse us.

To help the reader grasp the political significance of this vituperation, we ask him to recall certain elementary things that the supporters of *Yedinstvo* and Co. are trying to "talk away" with their clamour and abuse.

"They" have all declared the Conference of January 1912 to be an act of usurpation, illegal seizure of power. That Conference, they argue, had no right to call itself the supreme organ of the entire Marxist body.

Splendid, gentlemen! But see how the *political facts* expose the inanity and falsity of your phrases.

Let us assume that you are right, and that the Conference of January 1912 was an "illegal seizure of power". What follows from that?

It follows that all the groups, trends and circles, and all the Social-Democrats who resented this "illegal seizure of power", should have *stood up for* the "law". Is that not so? They should have united, not only to vilify the usurpers, but also *to overthrow them*.

This would seem indisputable, would it not?

It would seem that the brave Plekhanov, the courageous Trotsky, the bold Vperyodists and the noble liquidators *could not* have united to abuse the usurpers *without also* uniting *for the purpose of overthrowing the usurpers*.

If our heroes had not done that, they would have shown themselves to be mere windbags, would they not?

And what had to be done to overthrow the "usurpers"?

All that the noble protestants against usurpation had to do was to get together *without* the usurpers, condemn them, and show the workers a *practical example*, *a fact*—a fact and not promises, deeds and not phrases—of what legitimate bodies are like, as distinct from usurpatory ones.

Only a person who regards all class-conscious workers in Russia as idiots could fail to agree that what these workers would have done, on seeing the united activities of the noble protestants against the "usurpers", would be to support these protestants, throw out the usurpers, and treat them with ridicule and scorn!

Clear enough, it would seem?

One would think it absolutely indisputable that it was *the bounden duty*, not only of every Marxist, but of every self-respecting democrat, to unite with all opponents of "usurpation", with the purpose of *overthrowing* the usurpers.

But actually?

What actually happened?

What happened *two years after* our noble opponents of "usurpation" took the field against the usurpers?

What happened was that the "usurpers" united $\frac{4}{5}$ (*four-fifths*) of all the class-conscious workers of Russia around their decisions.

For two-and-a-half years, from January 1, 1912, to May 13, 1914, the Pravdist newspapers received financial support from 5,674 workers' groups, while the noble opponents of "usurpation", the liquidators and their friends, received the support of 1,421 workers' groups.

The "usurpers" brought about the *unity* of four-fifths of the workers of Russia, not merely in word, but in deed.

The noble enemies of "usurpation", however, went up in smoke, for their August bloc collapsed; Trotsky, the Letts,

the Caucasian leaders, etc., fell away in *separate* little groups, *which*, *in the actual movement*, *proved to be mere cyphers*, both individually and collectively.

How is this miracle to be explained?

How could four-fifths of the workers stand *for* vile "usurpation" *against* the numerous, manifold, noble enemies of usurpation who represented "*a multitude of trends*"?

Reader, this could and had to happen for the following reason: in politics abusive language often serves as a screen for utter lack of principles and sterility, impotence, angry impotence, on the part of those who use such language.

That is all there is to it.

But in spite of all the abuse that is heaped on the Pravdists, "usurpers", Leninists, etc., the class-conscious workers are uniting, and will continue to unite, around the principles and tactics of consistent Marxism. Despite all this kind of language, they recognise *unity only from below*, *the unity of the workers based on condemnation of liquidationism*, on acceptance of all the decisions of the "entire Marxist body". The-subordination of the minority to the majority, not compromise with intellectualist groups—only this can serve as the principle of the working-class movement.

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OBJECTIVE DATA ON THE STRENGTH OF THE VARIOUS TRENDS IN THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT[171]

There can be no more important duty for class-conscious workers than that of *getting to know* their class movement, its nature, its aims and objects, its conditions and practical forms. That is because the strength of the working-class movement lies entirely in its political consciousness, and its *mass* character. At each step in its development, capitalism increases the number of proletarians, wage-workers; it rallies, organises and enlightens them, and in this way moulds a class force that must inevitably march towards its goal.

The Marxists' programme and their decisions on tactics, as constantly expounded in the press, help the masses of the workers to understand the nature, aims and objects of the movement.

The struggle between the various trends in the working-class movement of Russia has deep class roots. The two "trends" which are fighting Marxism (Pravdism) in the working-class movement of Russia and which, because of their mass form and their roots in history, deserve to be called "trends", i.e., Narodism and liquidationism, express the bourgeoisie's influence on the proletariat. This has been explained many times by the Marxists and acknowledged in a number of decisions adopted by them in regard to the Narodniks (the fight against whom has been going on for thirty years) and in regard to the liquidators (the history of liquidationism goes back about twenty years, for liquidationism is the direct continuation of Economism and Menshevism).

More *objective* data on the strength of the different trends in Russia's working-class movement are now steadily accumulating. Every effort must be made to collect, verify and study these objective data concerning the behaviour and moods, not of individuals or groups, but of the *masses*, data taken from different and *hostile* newspapers, data that are *verifiable* by any literate person.

Only from such data can one learn and study the movement of one's class. One of the greatest, if not the greatest, faults (or crimes against the working class) of the Narodniks and liquidators, as well as of the various groups of intellectuals such as the Vperyodists, Plekhanovites and Trotskyists, is their *subjectivism*. At every step they try to pass off their desires, their "views", their appraisals of the situation and their "plans", as the will of the workers, the needs of the working-class movement. When they talk about "unity", for example, they majestically ignore the *experience* acquired in creating the genuine unity of the *majority* of Russia's class-conscious workers in the course of two-and-a-half years, from the beginning of 1912 to the middle of 1914.

Let us then tabulate the available *objective* data on the strength of the various trends in the working-class movement. Those who believe in subjective appraisals and promises are free to go to the "groups". We invite only those who desire to study objective figures. Here they are:

	Prav-dists	Liqui-dators	Per cent		Left Narod-niks
			Prav-dists	Liqui-dators	
Duma Elections					
1. Number of deputies elected by worker curia:					
Second Duma, 1907 . . .	11	12	47	53	—
Third Duma, 1907-12 . . .	4	4	50	50	boy-
Fourth Duma, 1912	6	3	67	33	cott

Объективная декада в стиле Герцена в рабочей фракции России.

	Прав. фракц.	Мень. фракц.	Процентное отношение прав.	мень.	Левые рабочие
1. Выборы в Г. Думу. Число депутатов рабочей курии: II Думы, 1907.	11	12	47	53	—
III Думы, 1907-1912	4	4	50	50	3 бойкот
IV Думы, 1912	6	3	67	33	
2. Число рабочих групп, получавших денежные взносы в газеты (без спец.): 1912	620	89	—	—	—
1913	2181	661	76,3	23,1	264
1914 (по 12 мая)	2873	671	81,1	18,9	524
3. Денежные сборы на газеты. Процент сборов по отд. рабочим (с 1 янв. по 1 мая 1914 г.)	—	—	13	56	50
4. Тиражи газет (данные, сообщ. в нашей Г. Комиссии)	46 000	16 000	71,8	28,2	12 000 (по 6 месяц.)
5. Число рабочих групп, отрицательно отнесшихся к распространению брошюр и другой литературы фракции (с 1913 по 6 июня 1914 г.)	1295	215	85,7	14,3	—
6. Денежные суммы, проходящие через ЦО и другую литературу фракции. Процент сумм от рабочих (с 1913 г. по 6 июня 1914 г.)	—	—	6	46	—
7. Выборы в всероссийские отраслевые профсоюзы. Число уполномоченных	47	10	82,4	17,6	? 1-2 ?
8. Выборы в губернские отраслевые профсоюзы. Число уполномоченных	37	7	84,1	15,9	4
9. Число денежных сборов, напечатанных в газетах за все время	3	1	—	—	?
10. Из каких процентов сборов состоят взносы, поступающие от рабочих (по губерниям, уездам, городам)	—	—	0	100	?
11. Число подписей, данных в общих заседаниях, за ЦО и другую литературу фракции (из 6 тыс. и 2 тыс.)	6722	2985	69,2	31,8	—
12. Заграничная печать. Число номеров руководящей газеты, вышедших после августовской (1912 г.) конференции меньшевиков по июнь 1914 г.	5	0	—	—	9
13. Число указаний в этих номерах на политическую ориентацию (кому идут сочувствия и указания)	44	0	—	—	21
14. Число корреспонденций, данных исключительно за рабочих, а не от всех вообще из губернских городов, без указ. партии	0	5 (6 и 4 ж.)	—	—	0
15. Профессиональных союзов, в которых большинство меньшевиков, но меньшинство членов правления) сочувствует (а сколько)	~~20~~ 14	~~3~~ 4	~~15~~ 77,8	~~18~~ 22,2	~~8~~ 2

A page of Lenin's manuscript with a rough draft of his table to the article "Objeective Data on the Strength of the Various Trends in the Working-Class Movement". June 1914
Reduced

	Pravdists	Liquidators	Per cent		Left Narodniks
			Pravdists	Liquidators	
Number of Workers' Groups Which Donated Funds:					
2. Number of contributions by workers' groups to St. Petersburg newspapers:					
1912	620	89	—	—	—
1913	2,181	661	76.9	23.1	264
up to May 13, 1914	2,873	671	81.1	18.9	524
Election of Workers' Delegates to Insurance Boards:					
3. Number of delegates to All-Russia Insurance Board . .	47	10	82.4	17.6	?1-2?
4. Ditto Metropolitan Insurance Board	37	7	84.2	15.9	4
Signatures to Resolutions in Favour of Each of the Duma Groups:					
5. Number of signatures published in both newspapers in favour of the Six (Pravdist) and for the Seven (liquidators)	6,722	2,985	69.2	30.8	—
Connection with Workers' Groups:					
6. Number of contribution letters from workers' groups to either of the Duma Groups (Oct. 1913 to June 6, 1914)	1,295	215	85.7	14.3	—
Circulation of St. Petersburg newspapers:					
7. Number of copies printed (figured collected and published by E. Vandervelde)	40,000	16,000	71.4	28.6	12,300 (3 times a week)

	Pravdists	Liquidators	Per cent		Left Narodniks
			Pravdists	Liquidators	
Press Abroad:					
8. Number of issues of the leading newspaper published after August (1912) Conference of liquidators up to June 1914	5	0	—	—	9
9. Number of references in these issues to *non*-legal organisations (one locality counted as one reference) .	44	0	—	—	21
Dependence on the Bourgeoisie:					
10. Funds collected for St. Petersburg newspapers (from January 1 to May 13, 1914). Percentage of contributions from *non*-workers	—	—	13	56	50
11. Number of financial reports published in the newspapers during entire period . . .	3	1	—	—	?(0?)
12. Percentage of such reports showing deficits covered from unspecified, i.e., bourgeois sources	—	—	0	100	?
13. Funds handled by either of the Duma groups (from October 1913 to June 6, 1914). Percentage of funds obtained from non-workers . . .	—	—	6	46	—
14. Number of items of correspondence passed off as coming from workers, but actually taken from bourgeois newspapers without indicating source	—	5 (in two issues, Nos. 17 and 19 of *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*			0

	Pravdists	Liquidators	Per cent		Left Narodniks
			Pravdists	Liquidators	
Trade Unions:					
15. Number of trade unions in St. Petersburg in which majority of members (judging by majority of executives) sympathise with respective trends	$14\frac{1}{2}$*	$3\frac{1}{2}$*	—	—	2

First of all we shall briefly explain the above figures and then draw the conclusions that follow from them.

It will be best to make the explanations point by point.

Point 1. Figures showing the number of electors and delegates elected are *not available*. To complain about our using "curia" figures is simply ridiculous, for no other are available. The German Social-Democrats measure their successes under the Bismarck electoral law, which excludes women and thereby creates a "male" curia!

Point 2. The number of workers' groups which pay and not only "sign resolutions" is the most reliable and true criterion, not only of the strength of the trend, but also of its state of organisation and its Party spirit.

That is why the liquidators and the "groups" betray such subjective dislike for this criterion.

The liquidators argued: We have also a Yiddish and a Georgian newspapers, but the *Pravda* stands alone. That is not true. Firstly, the Estonian and Lithuanian newspapers are Pravdist.[172] Secondly, if we take the provinces, is it permissible to forget Moscow? During 1913 the Moscow workers' newspaper[173] rallied, united *390* workers' groups (*Rabochy* No. 1, p. 19), whereas the Yiddish newspaper *Zeit*, from issue No. 2 (December 29, 1912) to June 1, 1914, united *296* workers' groups (of these 190 were united up to

* In one union the Pravdists and liquidators had an equal number of supporters.

March 20, 1914, and 106 from March 20 to June 1, 1914). Thus, Moscow alone amply "covered" the liquidators' subjective reference to *Zeit*!

We invite the Georgian and Armenian comrades to collect data on the liquidators' newspapers in the Caucasus. How many workers' groups are there? Objective data covering all aspects are needed.

Mistakes in counting the groups may have been made, but only in individual cases. We invite everybody to verify the figures and correct them.

Points 3 and 4 require no explanation. It would be desirable to initiate an enquiry for the purpose of collecting *new* data from the provinces.

Point 5. The 2,985 liquidator signatures *include* 1,086 Bundist and 719 Caucasian signatures. It is desirable that the local comrades verify these figures.

Point 6. The treasurers of the two groups publish reports *of all* funds each group receives for various objects. These figures serve as an exact and objective index of contacts with the workers.

Point 7. Circulation of newspapers. The figures were collected and published by E. Vandervelde but hushed up by the liquidators and the liberals (*Kievskaya Mysl*). "Subjectivism." It is desirable that fuller figures be collected, if only for one month.

Points 8 and 9. Here we have an objective illustration of the liquidators' renunciation of the "underground", i.e., of the Party. But from January 1 to May 13, 1914, receipts from abroad gave the Pravdists R. 49.79 (one-fourth of one per cent) and the liquidators R. 1,709.17 (fourteen per cent). Don't say, "I can't"; say, "I don't want to"!

Points 10 to 14. These are objective evidence of the dependence of the liquidators and Narodniks on the bourgeoisie, evidence of their bourgeois character. *Subjectively*, the liquidators and Narodniks are "socialists" and "Social-Democrats". *Objectively*, both as regards the substance of their *ideas* as well as the *experience* of the mass movement, they are groups of bourgeois intellectuals, which are splitting the minority of workers away from the workers' party.

We especially draw our readers' attention to the way in which the liquidators fake workers' correspondence. This

is an unprecedented and downright fraud! Let all Marxists in the localities expose this fraud and collect objective data (see *Trudovaya Pravda* No. 12, June 11, 1914[174]).

Point 15. These figures are particularly important and ought to be supplemented and verified by means of a separate enquiry. We have taken the figures from *Sputnik Rabochego*, Priboi Publishers, St. Petersburg, 1914.[175] Among the unions included in the liquidators' list were the Clerks' Union, the Draftsmen's Union, and the Druggist Employees' Union (at the last election of the Executive of the Printers' Union on April 27, 1914, half the members of the Executive and more than half of the alternate members elected were Pravdists). The Narodnik list of unions includes the Bakers' Union and the Case-Makers' Union. Aggregate membership about 22,000.

Of the thirteen unions in Moscow, ten are Pravdist and three indefinite, although they are closer to the Pravdists. There is not a single liquidationist or Narodnik union in Moscow.

The conclusions to be drawn from these objective data are that Pravdism is the only Marxist, proletarian trend, really independent of the bourgeoisie, and has organised and united *over* four-fifths of the workers (in 1914, 81.1 per cent of the workers' groups as compared with the liquidators). Liquidationism and Narodism are undoubtedly bourgeois-democratic, not working-class trends.

The correctness of the Pravdists' programmatic, tactical and organisational ideas, their decisions and line has been wholly and splendidly confirmed by the experience of the mass movement in 1912, 1913 and half of 1914. From our conviction that we are on the right road we should draw the strength for still greater efforts.

Trudovaya Pravda No. 25,
June 26, 1914

Published according to
the text in *Trudovaya Pravda*

HOW STRONG IS THE LEFT-NARODNIK TREND AMONG THE WORKERS

Throughout the world a section of the workers, as is well known, still follows the lead of various bourgeois parties. During the period of bourgeois-democratic reform in Russia, a minority of the class-conscious workers still follows the lead of the bourgeois group of liquidationist writers, and of the bourgeois-democratic Narodnik trend.

It has been reiterated many times in precise, clearly formulated and official *decisions* of the Marxists (1903, 1907 and 1913)[176] that the entire Narodnik trend, including the Left Narodniks, is a bourgeois (peasant) democracy in Russia. That some of the workers should follow the lead of the Left Narodniks, who describe radical *peasant* (but in substance downright *bourgeois*) demands as "socialism", is quite natural in a capitalist country during an intense movement against survivals of serfdom.

But exactly which section of the class-conscious workers follows the lead of the Left Narodniks?

Sovremennik, one of the most unprincipled intellectualist journals, which (on the basis of false phrases) "unites" the Left Narodniks, Plekhanov, and Mr. Potresov and Co., recently stated that "about" one-third of the workers follow the lead of the Left Narodniks.

This is a barefaced, deliberate lie, like those commonly uttered by the liquidators.

As far as we know, only three sets of objective data showing the degree of influence the Left Narodniks exercise among the workers are available. These are, firstly, the circulation figures of the newspapers. Secondly, the figures showing the number of workers' groups which have collected funds.

Thirdly, the figures showing the number of delegates elected to the Metropolitan Insurance Board.

We shall compare these data, which differ from the barefaced lies of Martov, Himmer and Co. in that *anybody* can find them in open and public sources appertaining to the *different* parties, and verify them.

	Pravdists	Liquidators	Left Narodniks	Per cent		
				Pravdists	Liquidators	Left Narodniks
Number of copies of St. Petersburg newspapers published per week	240,000	96,000	36,000	64.5	25.8	9.7
Number of collections by workers' groups for whole of 1913. .	2,181	661	264	70.2	21.3	8.5
For 1914 (up to May 13)	2,873	671	524	70.6	16.6	12.8
Number of delegates elected to Metropolitan Insurance Board	37	7	4	77.1	14.6	8.3

The circulation figures are the most "favourable" to the bourgeois groups (the liquidators and Left Narodniks). But the liquidator and Left-Narodnik newspapers are bourgeois newspapers, *not* working-class! This is proved by the figures of the funds collected (from January 1 to May 13, 1914). The liquidators' reports show that 56 per cent of their *total* collections came from *non*-workers (*Trudovaya Pravda* No. 15).* In the case of the Left Narodniks, 50 per cent of their collections came from this source. Moreover, as far as is known, the Left Narodniks have never published the financial reports of their newspaper, which, like that of the liquidators, is evidently maintained by *rich friends from among the bourgeoisie*.

* See pp. 363-71 of this volume.—*Ed*.

The Pravdist newspaper is the only working-class newspaper. Both the liquidationist and the Left-Narodnik newspapers are *bourgeois newspapers*. No lie can refute this *objective fact*.

The figures of the workers' groups approach most closely and exactly to European party membership figures.

The number of Left-Narodnik groups is growing very rapidly (it has doubled in the course of the year) and now constitutes 12.8 per cent of the total groups of all the newspapers. Their number is growing *at the expense of the liquidators*, for the number of the latter's groups is almost at a standstill (an increase of only ten groups in the first half of 1914 at a time when the working-class movement showed an enormous growth) and their percentage is *diminishing*: from 21.3 per cent to 16.6 per cent.

By their opportunism and renunciation of the Party, the liquidators are pushing their working-class supporters towards the *other*, more "radical" (in word) bourgeois group.

Between 1913 and 1914, the Pravdists obtained 692 new groups, the liquidators 10, and the Left Narodniks 260. In percentages the increases are: Pravdists plus 31.7, liquidators plus 1.5, Left Narodniks plus 100 (small figures always increase faster than big ones; for example, if Plekhanov has nine workers' groups and, by the time of Vienna—and for Vienna[177]—there will be 27 or 45, the percentage increase will be plus 200, or plus 400).

The Insurance Board election figures apply only to St. Petersburg. It should be said that in 1914 the Left Narodniks in St. Petersburg are *ahead of the liquidators* as far as collection by workers' groups is concerned.

Thus, between January 1 and May 13, 1914, the Pravdists in St. Petersburg received contributions from 2,024 workers' groups, the liquidators from 308 and the Left Narodniks from *391* groups. The percentages are: Pravdists 74.3, liquidators 11.4, Left Narodniks 14.3.

Like the true opportunists they are, our liquidators reacted to this increase in strength of the Left Narodniks, not by intensifying their struggle for the principles of Marxism, but by entering into a bloc with the Left Narodniks against the Marxists (Pravdists)!

The Left Narodniks, in *Sovremennik*, openly advocate such an alliance on behalf of all their leaders; but the liquidators *lack the courage* to explain their conduct to the workers openly and straightforwardly. They do it in an underhand way. They are genuine Cadets.

For example. Recently, the Left-Narodnik newspaper (*Zhivaya Mysl Truda* No. 3, June 15, 1914) published an article entitled "The Insurance Delegates Elections at the Aivaz Works". In this article we read: ... "Of necessity, the Aivaz workers will be offered a choice of two lists: *one*, *a joint Menshevik and Left-Narodnik list* ... the other a Pravdist list...." (Our italics.)

Alliance with the liquidators is interpreted in this article by the Left Narodniks as the principle of co-operation among all "*socialist*" trends, i.e., the liquidators are alleged to have renounced not only the resolution of 1907, which defined the Left Narodniks as a bourgeois trend, but also the resolution of 1903 proposed by Axelrod.

Marxists regard the increase in the Left Narodniks' strength as a symptom, or presage, of a revival among the peasantry which, of course, is enough to "turn the heads" of non-class-conscious proletarians and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. As far as we Marxists are concerned, this fact will only stimulate our efforts in advocating Marxism as against petty-bourgeois Narodism.

Fellow-workers! Put less faith in promises and fairy-tales! Study more closely the *objective* data on your own working-class movement and on how the bourgeois ideas and the bourgeois practices of the liquidators and Left Narodniks influence a minority of the workers.

Trudovaya Pravda No. 27,
June 28, 1914

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the text in *Trudovaya Pravda*

THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Written February-May 1914
Published in April-June 1914
in the journal *Prosveshcheniye*
No. 4, 5 and 6
Signed: *V. Ilyin*

Published according to
the text in the journal

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Clause 9 of the Russian Marxists' Programme, which deals with the right of nations to self-determination, has (as we have already pointed out in *Prosveshcheniye*)* given rise lately to a crusade on the part of the opportunists. The Russian liquidator Semkovsky, in the St. Petersburg liquidationist newspaper, and the Bundist Liebman and the Ukrainian nationalist-socialist Yurkevich in their respective periodicals have violently attacked this clause and treated it with supreme contempt. There is no doubt that this campaign of a motley array of opportunists against our Marxist Programme is closely connected with present-day nationalist vacillations in general. Hence we consider a detailed examination of this question timely. We would mention, in passing, that none of the opportunists named above has offered a single argument of his own; they all merely repeat what Rosa Luxemburg said in her lengthy Polish article of 1908-09, "The National Question and Autonomy". In our exposition we shall deal mainly with the "original" arguments of this last-named author.

1. WHAT IS MEANT BY THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF NATIONS?

Naturally, this is the first question that arises when any attempt is made at a Marxist examination of what is known as self-determination. What should be understood by that term? Should the answer be sought in legal definitions deduced from all sorts of "general concepts" of law? Or is it rather to be sought in a historico-economic study of the national movements?

It is not surprising that the Semkovskys, Liebmans and Yurkeviches did not even think of raising this question,

* See pp. 17-51 of this volume.—*Ed.*

and shrugged it off by scoffing at the "obscurity" of the Marxist Programme, apparently unaware, in their simplicity, that the self-determination of nations is dealt with, not only in the Russian Programme of 1903, but in the resolution of the London International Congress of 1896 (with which I shall deal in detail in the proper place). Far more surprising is the fact that Rosa Luxemburg, who declaims a great deal about the supposedly abstract and metaphysical nature of the clause in question, should herself succumb to the sin of abstraction and metaphysics. It is Rosa Luxemburg herself who is continually lapsing into generalities about self-determination (to the extent even of philosophising amusingly on the question of how the will of the nation is to be ascertained), without anywhere clearly and precisely asking herself whether the gist of the matter lies in legal definitions or in the experience of the national movements throughout the world.

A precise formulation of this question, which no Marxist can avoid, would at once destroy nine-tenths of Rosa Luxemburg's arguments. This is not the first time that national movements have arisen in Russia, nor are they peculiar to that country alone. Throughout the world, the period of the final victory of capitalism over feudalism has been linked up with national movements. For the complete victory of commodity production, the bourgeoisie must capture the home market, and there must be politically united territories whose population speak a single language, with all obstacles to the development of that language and to its consolidation in literature eliminated. Therein is the economic foundation of national movements. Language is the most important means of human intercourse. Unity and unimpeded development of language are the most important conditions for genuinely free and extensive commerce on a scale commensurate with modern capitalism, for a free and broad grouping of the population in all its various classes and, lastly, for the establishment of a close connection between the market and each and every proprietor, big or little, and between seller and buyer.

Therefore, the tendency of every national movement is towards the formation of *national states*, under which these requirements of modern capitalism are best satisfied. The

most profound economic factors drive towards this goal, and, therefore, for the whole of Western Europe, nay, for the entire civilised world, the national state is *typical* and normal for the capitalist period.

Consequently, if we want to grasp the meaning of self-determination of nations, not by juggling with legal definitions, or "inventing" abstract definitions, but by examining the historico-economic conditions of the national movements, we must inevitably reach the conclusion that the self-determination of nations means the political separation of these nations from alien national bodies, and the formation of an independent national state.

Later on we shall see still other reasons why it would be wrong to interpret the right to self-determination as meaning anything but the right to existence as a separate state. At present, we must deal with Rosa Luxemburg's efforts to "dismiss" the inescapable conclusion that profound economic factors underlie the urge-towards a national state.

Rosa Luxemburg is quite familiar with Kautsky's pamphlet *Nationality and Internationality*. (Supplement to *Die Neue Zeit*[178] No. 1, 1907-08; Russian translation in the journal *Nauchnaya Mysl*,[179] Riga, 1908.) She is aware that, after carefully analysing the question of the national state in §4 of that pamphlet, Kautsky arrived at the conclusion that Otto Bauer "*underestimates* the strength of the urge towards a national state" (p. 23 of the pamphlet). Rosa Luxemburg herself quotes the following words of Kautsky's: "The national state is the form *most suited* to present-day conditions, [i.e., capitalist, civilised, economically progressive conditions, as distinguished from medieval, precapitalist, etc.]; it is the form in which the state can best fulfil its tasks" (i.e., the tasks of securing the freest, widest and speediest development of capitalism). To this we must add Kautsky's still more precise concluding remark that states of mixed national composition (known as multinational states, as distinct from national states) are "always those whose internal constitution has for some reason or other remained abnormal or underdeveloped" (backward). Needless to say, Kautsky speaks of abnormality exclusively in the sense of lack of conformity with what is best adapted to the requirements of a developing capitalism.

The question now is: How did Rosa Luxemburg treat these historico-economic conclusions of Kautsky's? Are they right or wrong? Is Kautsky right in his historico-economic theory, or is Bauer, whose theory is basically psychological? What is the connection between Bauer's undoubted "national opportunism", his defence of cultural-national autonomy, his nationalistic infatuation ("an occasional emphasis on the national aspect", as Kautsky put it), his "enormous exaggeration of the national aspect and complete neglect of the international aspect" (Kautsky)—and his underestimation of the strength of the urge to create a national state?

Rosa Luxemburg has not even raised this question. She has not noticed the connection. She has not considered the *sum total* of Bauer's theoretical views. She has not even drawn a line between the historico-economic and the psychological theories of the national question. She confines herself to the following remarks in criticism of Kautsky:

> "This 'best' national state is only an abstraction, which can easily be developed and defended theoretically, but which does not correspond to reality." (*Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny*, 1908, No. 6, p. 499.)

And in corroboration of this emphatic statement there follow arguments to the effect that the "right to self-determination" of small nations is made illusory by the development of the great capitalist powers and by imperialism. "Can one seriously speak," Rosa Luxemburg exclaims, "about the 'self-determination' of the formally independent Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Serbs, Greeks, partly even the Swiss, whose independence is itself a result of the political struggle and the diplomatic game of the 'concert of Europe'?!" (P. 500.) The state that best suits these conditions is "not a national state, as Kautsky believes, but a predatory one". Some dozens of figures are quoted relating to the size of British, French and other colonial possessions.

After reading such arguments, one cannot help marvelling at the author's ability to misunderstand *the how and the why of things*. To teach Kautsky, with a serious mien, that small states are economically dependent on big ones, that a struggle is raging among the bourgeois states for the predatory suppression of other nations, and that imperialism

and colonies exist—all this is a ridiculous and puerile attempt to be clever, for none of this has the slightest bearing on the subject. Not only small states, but even Russia, for example, is entirely dependent, economically, on the power of the imperialist finance capital of the "rich" bourgeois countries. Not only the miniature Balkan states, but even nineteenth-century America was, economically, a colony of Europe, as Marx pointed out in *Capital*.[180] Kautsky, like any Marxist, is, of course, well aware of this, but that has nothing whatever to do with the question of national movements and the national state.

For the question of the political self-determination of nations and their independence as states in bourgeois society, Rosa Luxemburg has substituted the question of their economic independence. This is just as intelligent as if someone, in discussing the programmatic demand for the supremacy of parliament, i.e., the assembly of people's representatives, in a bourgeois state, were to expound the perfectly correct conviction that big capital dominates in a bourgeois country, whatever the regime in it.

There is no doubt that the greater part of Asia, the most densely populated continent, consists either of colonies of the "Great Powers", or of states that are extremely dependent and oppressed as nations. But does this commonly-known circumstance in any way shake the undoubted fact that in Asia itself the conditions for the most complete development of commodity production and the freest, widest and speediest growth of capitalism have been created only in Japan, i.e., only in an independent national state? The latter is a bourgeois state, and for that reason has itself begun to oppress other nations and to enslave colonies. We cannot say whether Asia will have had time to develop into a system of independent national states, like Europe, before the collapse of capitalism, but it remains an undisputed fact that capitalism, having awakened Asia, has called forth national movements everywhere in that continent, too; that the tendency of these movements is towards the creation of national states in Asia; that it is such states that ensure the best conditions for the development of capitalism. The example of Asia speaks *in favour* of Kautsky and *against* Rosa Luxemburg.

The example of the Balkan states likewise contradicts her, for anyone can now see that the best conditions for the development of capitalism in the Balkans are created precisely in proportion to the creation of independent national states in that peninsula.

Therefore, Rosa Luxemburg notwithstanding, the example of the whole of progressive and civilised mankind, the example of the Balkans and that of Asia prove that Kautsky's proposition is absolutely correct: the national state is the rule and the "norm" of capitalism; the multinational state represents backwardness, or is an exception. From the standpoint of national relations, the best conditions for the development of capitalism are undoubtedly provided by the national state. This does not mean, of course, that such a state, which is based on bourgeois relations, can eliminate the exploitation and oppression of nations. It only means that Marxists cannot lose sight of the powerful *economic* factors that give rise to the urge to create national states. It means that "self-determination of nations" in the Marxists' Programme *cannot*, from a historico-economic point of view, have any other meaning than political self-determination, state independence, and the formation of a national state.

The conditions under which the bourgeois-democratic demand for a "national state" should be supported from a Marxist, i.e., class-proletarian, point of view will be dealt with in detail below. For the present, we shall confine ourselves to the definition of the *concept* of "self-determination", and only note that Rosa Luxemburg *knows* what this concept means ("national state"), whereas her opportunist partisans, the Liebmans, the Semkovskys, the Yurkeviches, *do not even know that*!

2. THE HISTORICALLY CONCRETE PRESENTATION OF THE QUESTION

The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within *definite* historical limits, and, if it refers to a particular country (e.g., the national programme for a given country), that account be taken of the specific features

distinguishing that country from others in the same historical epoch.

What does this categorical requirement of Marxism imply in its application to the question under discussion?

First of all, it implies that a clear distinction must be drawn between the two periods of capitalism, which differ radically from each other as far as the national movement is concerned. On the one hand, there is the period of the collapse of feudalism and absolutism, the period of the formation of the bourgeois-democratic society and state, when the national movements for the first time become mass movements and in one way or another draw *all* classes of the population into politics through the press, participation in representative institutions, etc. On the other hand, there is the period of fully formed capitalist states with a long-established constitutional regime and a highly developed antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—a period that may be called the eve of capitalism's downfall.

The typical features of the first period are: the awakening of national movements and the drawing of the peasants, the most numerous and the most sluggish section of the population, into these movements, in connection with the struggle for political liberty in general, and for the rights of the nation in particular. Typical features of the second period are: the absence of mass bourgeois-democratic movements and the fact that developed capitalism, in bringing closer together nations that have already been fully drawn into commercial intercourse, and causing them to intermingle to an increasing degree, brings the antagonism between internationally united capital and the international working-class movement into the forefront.

Of course, the two periods are not walled off from each other; they are connected by numerous transitional links, the various countries differing from each other in the rapidity of their national development, in the national make-up and distribution of their population, and so on. There can be no question of the Marxists of any country drawing up their national programme without taking into account all these general historical and concrete state conditions.

It is here that we come up against the weakest point in Rosa Luxemburg's arguments. With extraordinary zeal, she embellishes her article with a collection of hard words directed against §9 of our Programme, which she declares to be "sweeping", "a platitude", "a metaphysical phrase", and so on without end. It would be natural to expect an author who so admirably condemns metaphysics (in the Marxist sense, i.e., anti-dialectics) and empty abstractions to set us an example of how to make a concrete historical analysis of the question. The question at issue is the national programme of the Marxists of a definite country—Russia, in a definite period—the beginning of the twentieth century. But does Rosa Luxemburg raise the question as to *what historical* period Russia is passing through, or *what are the concrete* features of the national question and the national movements of that *particular* country in that *particular* period?

No, she does not! *She says absolutely nothing about it*! In her work you will not find even the shadow of an analysis of how the national question stands in *Russia* in the present historical period, or of the specific features of *Russia* in this particular respect!

We are told that the national question in the Balkans is presented differently from that in Ireland; that Marx appraised the Polish and Czech national movements in the concrete conditions of 1848 in such and such a way (a page of excerpts from Marx); that Engels appraised the struggle of the forest cantons of Switzerland against Austria and the Battle of Morgarten which took place in 1315 in such and such a way (a page of quotations from Engels with the appropriate comments from Kautsky), that Lassalle regarded the peasant war in Germany of the sixteenth century as reactionary, etc.

It cannot be said that these remarks and quotations have any novelty about them, but at all events it is interesting for the reader to be occasionally reminded just how Marx, Engels and Lassalle approached the analysis of concrete historical problems in individual countries. And a perusal of these instructive quotations from Marx and Engels reveals most strikingly the ridiculous position Rosa Luxemburg has placed herself in. She preaches eloquently and

angrily the need for a concrete historical analysis of the national question in different countries at different times, but she *does not make the least* attempt to determine *what* historical stage in the development of capitalism *Russia* is passing through at the beginning of the twentieth century, or what the *specific features* of the national question in this country are. Rosa Luxemburg gives examples of how *others* have treated the question in a Marxist fashion, as if deliberately stressing how often the road to hell is paved with good intentions and how often good counsel covers up unwillingness or inability to follow such advice in practice.

Here is one of her edifying comparisons. In protesting against the demand for the independence of Poland, Rosa Luxemburg refers to a pamphlet she wrote in 1898, proving the rapid "industrial development of Poland", with the latter's manufactured goods being marketed in Russia. Needless to say, no conclusion whatever can be drawn from this on the question of the *right* to self-determination; it only proves the disappearance of the old Poland of the landed gentry, etc. But Rosa Luxemburg always passes on imperceptibly to the conclusion that among the factors that unite Russia and Poland, the purely economic factors of modern capitalist relations now predominate.

Then our Rosa proceeds to the question of autonomy, and though her article is entitled "The National Question and Autonomy" *in general*, she begins to argue that the Kingdom of Poland has an *exclusive* right to autonomy (see *Prosveshcheniye*, 1913, No. 12*). To support Poland's right to autonomy, Rosa Luxemburg evidently judges the state system of Russia by her economic, political and sociological characteristics and everyday life—a totality of features which, taken together, produce the concept of "Asiatic despotism". (*Przegląd* No. 12, p. 137.)

It is generally known that this kind of state system possesses great stability whenever completely patriarchal and pre-capitalist features predominate in the economic system and where commodity production and class differentiation are scarcely developed. However, if in a country

* See pp. 45-51 of this volume.—*Ed.*

whose state system is distinctly *pre*-capitalist in character there exists a nationally demarcated region where capitalism is *rapidly* developing, then the more rapidly that capitalism develops, the greater will be the antagonism between it and the *pre*-capitalist state system, and the more likely will be the separation of the progressive region from the whole—with which it is connected, not by "modern capitalistic", but by "Asiatically despotic" ties.

Thus, Rosa Luxemburg does not get her arguments to hang together even on the question of the social structure of the government in Russia with regard to bourgeois Poland; as for the concrete, historical, specific features of the national movements in Russia—she does not even raise that question.

That is a point we must now deal with.

3. THE CONCRETE FEATURES OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN RUSSIA, AND RUSSIA'S BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REFORMATION

"Despite the elasticity of the principle of 'the right of nations to self-determination', which is a mere platitude, and, obviously, equally applicable, not only to the nations inhabiting Russia, but also to the nations inhabiting Germany and Austria, Switzerland and Sweden, America and Australia, we do not find it in the programmes of any of the present-day socialist parties...." (*Przegląd* No. 6, p. 483.)

This is how Rosa Luxemburg opens her attack upon §9 of the Marxist programme. In trying to foist on us the conception that this clause in the programme is a "mere platitude", Rosa Luxemburg herself falls victim to this error, alleging with amusing boldness that this point is, "obviously, equally applicable" to Russia, Germany, etc.

Obviously, we shall reply, Rosa Luxemburg has decided to make her article a collection of errors in logic that could be used for schoolboy exercises. For Rosa Luxemburg's tirade is sheer nonsense and a mockery of the historically concrete presentation of the question.

If one interprets the Marxist programme in Marxist fashion, not in a childish way, one will without difficulty grasp the fact that it refers to bourgeois-democratic national movements. That being the case, it is "obvious" that this

programme "sweepingly", and as a "mere platitude", etc., covers *all* instances of bourgeois-democratic national movements. No less obvious to Rosa Luxemburg, if she gave the slightest thought to it, is the conclusion that our programme refers *only* to cases where such a movement is actually in existence.

Had she given thought to these obvious considerations, Rosa Luxemburg would have easily perceived what nonsense she was talking. In accusing *us* of uttering a "platitude" she has used *against us* the argument that no mention is made of the right to self-determination in the programmes of countries where there are *no* bourgeois-democratic national movements. A remarkably clever argument!

A comparison of the political and economic development of various countries, as well as of their Marxist programmes, is of tremendous importance from the standpoint of Marxism, for there can be no doubt that all modern states are of a common capitalist nature and are therefore subject to a common law of development. But such a comparison must be drawn in a sensible way. The elementary condition for comparison is to find out whether the historical periods of development of the countries concerned are at all *comparable*. For instance, only absolute ignoramuses (such as Prince Y. Trubetskoi in *Russkaya Mysl*) are capable of "comparing" the Russian Marxists' agrarian programme with the programmes of Western Europe, since our programme replies to questions that concern the *bourgeois-democratic* agrarian reform, whereas in the Western countries no such question arises.

The same applies to the national question. In most Western countries it was settled long ago. It is ridiculous to seek an answer to non-existent questions in the programmes of Western Europe. In this respect Rosa Luxemburg has lost sight of the most important thing—the difference between countries where bourgeois-democratic reforms have long been completed, and those where they have not.

The crux of the matter lies in this difference. Rosa Luxemburg's complete disregard of it transforms her verbose article into a collection of empty and meaningless platitudes.

The epoch of bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Western, continental Europe embraces a fairly definite period,

approximately between 1789 and 1871. This was precisely the period of national movements and the creation of national states. When this period drew to a close, Western Europe had been transformed into a settled system of bourgeois states, which, as a general rule, were nationally uniform states. Therefore, to seek the right to self-determination in the programmes of West-European socialists at this time of day is to betray one's ignorance of the ABC of Marxism.

In Eastern Europe and Asia the period of bourgeois-democratic revolutions did not begin until 1905. The revolutions in Russia, Persia, Turkey and China, the Balkan wars—such is the chain of world events of *our* period in our "Orient". And only a blind man could fail to see in this chain of events the awakening of a *whole series* of bourgeois-democratic national movements which strive to create nationally independent and nationally uniform states. It is precisely and solely because Russia and the neighbouring countries are passing through this period that we must have a clause in our programme on the right of nations to self-determination.

But let us continue the quotation from Rosa Luxemburg's article a little more. She writes:

> "In particular, the programme of a party which is operating in a state with an extremely varied national composition, and for which the national question is a matter of first-rate importance—the programme of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party—does not contain the principle of the right of nations to self-determination." (Ibid.)

Thus, an attempt is made to convince the reader by the example of Austria "in particular". Let us examine this example in the light of concrete historical facts and see just how sound it is.

In the first place, let us pose the fundamental question of the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In Austria, this revolution began in 1848 and was over in 1867. Since then, a more or less fully established bourgeois constitution has dominated, for nearly half a century, and on its basis a legal workers' party is legally functioning.

Therefore, in the internal conditions of Austria's development (i.e., from the standpoint of the development of capitalism in Austria in general, and among its various nations in particular), there are *no* factors that produce

leaps and bounds, a concomitant of which might be the formation of nationally independent states. In assuming, by her comparison, that Russia is in an analogous position in this respect, Rosa Luxemburg not only makes a fundamentally erroneous and anti-historical assumption, but also involuntarily slips into liquidationism.

Secondly, the profound difference in the relations between the nationalities in Austria and those in Russia is particularly important for the question we are concerned with. Not only was Austria for a long time a state in which the Germans preponderated, but the Austrian Germans laid claim to hegemony in the German nation as a whole. This "claim", as Rosa Luxemburg (who is seemingly so averse to commonplaces, platitudes, abstractions...) will perhaps be kind enough to remember, was shattered in the war of 1866. The German nation predominating in Austria found itself *outside the pale* of the independent German state which finally took shape in 1871. On the other hand, the Hungarians' attempt to create an independent national state collapsed under the blows of the Russian serf army as far back as 1849.

A very peculiar situation was thus created—a striving on the part of the Hungarians and then of the Czechs, not for separation from Austria, but, on the contrary, for the preservation of Austria's integrity, precisely in order to preserve national independence, which might have been completely crushed by more rapacious and powerful neighbours! Owing to this peculiar situation, Austria assumed the form of a dual state, and she is now being transformed into a triple state (Germans, Hungarians, Slavs).

Is there anything like this in Russia? Is there in our country a striving of the "subject peoples" for unity with the Great Russians in face of the danger of *worse* national oppression?

One need only pose this question in order to see that the comparison between Russia and Austria on the question of self-determination of nations is meaningless, platitudinous and ignorant.

The peculiar conditions in Russia with regard to the national question are just the reverse of those we see in Austria. Russia is a state with a single national centre—

Great Russia. The Great Russians occupy a vast, unbroken stretch of territory, and number about 70,000,000. The specific features of this national state are: first, that "subject peoples" (which, on the whole, comprise the majority of the entire population—57 per cent) inhabit the border regions; secondly, the oppression of these subject peoples is much stronger here than in the neighbouring states (and not even in the European states alone); thirdly, in a number of cases the oppressed nationalities inhabiting the border regions have compatriots across the border, who enjoy greater national independence (suffice it to mention the Finns, the Swedes, the Poles, the Ukrainians and the Rumanians along the western and southern frontiers of the state); fourthly, the development of capitalism and the general level of culture are often higher in the non-Russian border regions than in the centre. Lastly, it is in the neighbouring Asian states that we see the beginning of a phase of bourgeois revolutions and national movements which are spreading to some of the kindred nationalities within the borders of Russia.

Thus, it is precisely the special concrete, historical features of the national question in Russia that make the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination in the present period a matter of special urgency in our country.

Incidentally, even from the purely factual angle, Rosa Luxemburg's assertion that the Austrian Social-Democrats' programme does not contain any recognition of the right of nations to self-determination is incorrect. We need only open the Minutes of the Brünn Congress, which adopted the national programme,[181] to find the statements by the Ruthenian Social-Democrat Hankiewicz on behalf of the entire Ukrainian (Ruthenian) delegation (p. 85 of the Minutes), and by the Polish Social-Democrat Reger on behalf of the entire Polish delegation (p. 108), to the effect that one of the aspirations of the Austrian Social-Democrats of both the above-mentioned nations is to secure national unity, and the freedom and independence of their nations. Hence, while the Austrian Social-Democrats did not include the right of nations to self-determination directly in their programme, they did nevertheless allow the demand for national independence to be advanced by *sections* of the

party. In effect, this means, of course, the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination! Thus, Rosa Luxemburg's reference to Austria speaks *against* Rosa Luxemburg in *all* respects.

4. "PRACTICALITY" IN THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Rosa Luxemburg's argument that § 9 of our Programme contains nothing "practical" has been seized upon by the Opportunists. Rosa Luxemburg is so delighted with this argument that in some parts of her article this "slogan" is repeated eight times on a single page.

She writes: § 9 "gives no practical lead on the day-by-day policy of the proletariat, no practical solution of national problems".

Let us examine this argument, which elsewhere is formulated in such a way that it makes § 9 look quite meaningless, or else commits us to support all national aspirations.

What does the demand for "practicality" in the national question mean?

It means one of three things: support for all national aspirations; the answer "yes" or "no" to the question of secession by any nation; or that national demands are in general immediately "practicable".

Let us examine all three possible meanings of the demand for "practicality".

The bourgeoisie, which naturally assumes the leadership at the start of every national movement, says that support for all national aspirations is practical. However, the proletariat's policy in the national question (as in all others) supports the bourgeoisie only in a certain direction, but it never coincides with the bourgeoisie's policy. The working class supports the bourgeoisie only in order to secure national peace (which the bourgeoisie cannot bring about completely and which can be achieved only with *complete* democracy), in order to secure equal rights and to create the best conditions for the class struggle. Therefore, it is *in opposition to the practicality* of the bourgeoisie that the proletarians advance their *principles* in the national question; they always give the bourgeoisie *only conditional* support. What every bourgeoisie is out for in the national

question is either privileges for its *own* nation, or exceptional advantages for it; this is called being "practical". The proletariat is opposed to all privileges, to all exclusiveness. To demand that it should be "practical" means following the lead of the bourgeoisie, falling into opportunism.

The demand for a "yes" or "no" reply to the question of secession in the case of every nation may seem a very "practical" one. In reality it is absurd; it is metaphysical in theory, while in practice it leads to subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie's policy. The bourgeoisie always places its national demands in the forefront, and does so in categorical fashion. With the proletariat, however, these demands are subordinated to the interests of the class struggle. Theoretically, you cannot say in advance whether the bourgeois-democratic revolution will end in a given nation seceding from another nation, or in its equality with the latter; *in either case*, the important thing for the proletariat is to ensure the development of its class. For the bourgeoisie it is important to hamper this development by pushing the aims of its "own" nation before those of the proletariat. That is why the proletariat confines itself, so to speak, to the negative demand for recognition of the *right* to self-determination, without giving guarantees to any nation, and without undertaking to give *anything at the expense* of another nation.

This may not be "practical", but it is in effect the best guarantee for the achievement of the most democratic of all possible solutions. The proletariat needs *only* such guarantees, whereas the bourgeoisie of every nation requires guarantees for *its own* interest, regardless of the position of (or the possible disadvantages to) other nations.

The bourgeoisie is most of all interested in the "feasibility" of a given demand—hence the invariable policy of coming to terms with the bourgeoisie of other nations, to the detriment of the proletariat. For the proletariat, however, the important thing is to strengthen its class against the bourgeoisie and to educate the masses in the spirit of consistent democracy and socialism.

This may not be "practical" as far as the opportunists are concerned, but it is the only real guarantee, the guar-

antee of the greater national equality and peace, despite the feudal landlords and the *nationalist* bourgeoisie.

The whole task of the proletarians in the national question is "unpractical" from the standpoint of the *nationalist* bourgeoisie of every nation, because the proletarians, opposed as they are to nationalism of every kind, demand "abstract" equality; they demand, as a matter of principle, that there should be no privileges, however slight. Failing to grasp this, Rosa Luxemburg, by her misguided eulogy of practicality, has opened the door wide for the opportunists, and especially for opportunist concessions to Great-Russian nationalism.

Why Great-Russian? Because the Great Russians in Russia are an oppressor nation, and opportunism in the national question will of course find expression among oppressed nations otherwise than among oppressor nations.

On the plea that its demands are "practical", the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations will call upon the proletariat to support its aspirations unconditionally. The most practical procedure is to say a plain "yes" in favour of the secession of a *particular* nation rather than in favour of all nations having the *right* to secede!

The proletariat is opposed to such practicality. While recognising equality and equal rights to a national state, it values above all and places foremost the alliance of the proletarians of all nations, and assesses any national demand, any national separation, *from the angle* of the workers' class struggle. This call for practicality is in fact merely a call for uncritical acceptance of bourgeois aspirations.

By supporting the right to secession, we are told, you are supporting the bourgeois nationalism of the oppressed nations. This is what Rosa Luxemburg says, and she is echoed by Semkovsky, the opportunist, who incidentally is the only representative of liquidationist ideas on this question, in the liquidationist newspaper!

Our reply to this is: No, it is to the bourgeoisie that a "practical" solution of this question is important. To the workers the important thing is to distinguish the *principles* of the two trends. *Insofar as* the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation fights the oppressor, we are always, in every case,

and more strongly than anyone else, *in favour*, for we are the staunchest and the most consistent enemies of oppression. But insofar as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation stands for *its own* bourgeois nationalism, we stand against. We fight against the privileges and violence of the oppressor nation, and do not in any way condone strivings for privileges on the part of the oppressed nation.

If, in our political agitation, we fail to advance and advocate the slogan of the *right* to secession, we shall play into the hands, not only of the bourgeoisie, but also of the feudal landlords and the absolutism of the *oppressor* nation. Kautsky long ago used this argument against Rosa Luxemburg, and the argument is indisputable. When, in her anxiety not to "assist" the nationalist bourgeoisie of Poland, Rosa Luxemburg rejects the *right* to secession in the programme of the Marxists *in Russia*, she is *in fact* assisting the Great-Russian Black Hundreds. She is in fact assisting opportunist tolerance of the privileges (and worse than privileges) of the Great Russians.

Carried away by the struggle against nationalism in Poland, Rosa Luxemburg has forgotten the nationalism of the Great Russians, although it is *this* nationalism that is the most formidable at the present time. It is a nationalism that is more feudal than bourgeois, and is the principal obstacle to democracy and to the proletarian struggle. The bourgeois nationalism of *any* oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed *against* oppression, and it is this content that we *unconditionally* support. At the same time we strictly distinguish it from the tendency towards national exclusiveness; we fight against the tendency of the Polish bourgeois to oppress the Jews, etc., etc.

This is "unpractical" from the standpoint of the bourgeois and the philistine, but it is the only policy in the national question that is practical, based on principles, and really promotes democracy, liberty and proletarian unity.

The recognition of the right to secession for all; the appraisal of each concrete question of secession from the point of view of removing all inequality, all privileges, and all exclusiveness.

Let us consider the position of an oppressor nation. Can a nation be free if it oppresses other nations? It cannot. The interests of the freedom of the Great-Russian population* require a struggle against such oppression. The long, centuries-old history of the suppression of the movements of the oppressed nations, and the systematic propaganda in favour of such suppression coming from the "upper" classes have created enormous obstacles to the cause of freedom of the Great-Russian people itself, in the form of prejudices, etc.

The Great-Russian Black Hundreds deliberately foster these prejudices and encourage them. The Great-Russian bourgeoisie tolerates or condones them. The Great-Russian proletariat cannot achieve *its own* aims or clear the road to its freedom without systematically countering these prejudices.

In Russia, the creation of an independent national state remains, for the time being, the privilege of the Great-Russian nation alone. We, the Great-Russian proletarians, who defend no privileges whatever, do not defend this privilege either. We are fighting on the ground of a definite state; we unite the workers of all nations living in this state; we cannot vouch for any particular path of national development, for we are marching to our class goal along *all* possible paths.

However, we cannot move towards that goal unless we combat all nationalism, and uphold the equality of the various nations. Whether the Ukraine, for example, is destined to form an independent state is a matter that will be determined by a thousand unpredictable factors. Without attempting idle "*guesses*", we firmly uphold something that is beyond doubt: the right of the Ukraine to form such a state. We respect this right; we do not uphold the privileges of Great Russians with regard to Ukrainians; we *educate* the masses in the spirit of recognition of that right, in the spirit of rejecting *state* privileges for any nation.

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* A certain L. Vl.[182] in Paris considers this word un-Marxist. This L. Vl. is amusingly "*superklug*" (too clever by half). And "this too-clever-by-half" L. Vl. apparently intends to write an essay on the deletion of the words "population", "nation", etc., from our minimum programme (having in mind the class struggle!).

In the leaps which all nations have made in the period of bourgeois revolutions, clashes and struggles over the right to a national state are possible and probable. We proletarians declare in advance that we are *opposed* to Great-Russian privileges, and this is what guides our entire propaganda and agitation.

In her quest for "practicality" Rosa Luxemburg has lost sight of the *principal* practical task both of the Great-Russian proletariat and of the proletariat of other nationalities: that of day-by-day agitation and propaganda against all state and national privileges, and for the right, the equal right of all nations, to their national state. This (at present) is our principal task in the national question, for only in this way can we defend the interests of democracy and the alliance of all proletarians of all nations on an equal footing.

This propaganda may be "unpractical" from the point of view of the Great-Russian oppressors, as well as from the point of view of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations (both demand a *definite* "yes" or "no", and accuse the Social-Democrats of being "vague"). In reality it is this propaganda, and this propaganda alone, that ensures the genuinely democratic, the genuinely socialist education of the masses. This is the only propaganda to ensure the greatest chances of national peace in Russia, should she remain a multi-national state, and the most peaceful (and for the proletarian class struggle, harmless) division into separate national states, should the question of such a division arise.

To explain this policy—the only proletarian policy—in the national question more concretely, we shall examine the attitude of Great-Russian liberalism towards the "self-determination of nations", and the example of Norway's secession from Sweden.

5. THE LIBERAL BOURGEOISIE AND THE SOCIALIST OPPORTUNISTS IN THE NATIONAL QUESTION

We have seen that the following argument is one of Rosa Luxemburg's "trump cards" in her struggle against the programme of the Marxists in Russia: recognition of the right

to self-determination is tantamount to supporting the bourgeois nationalism of the oppressed nations. On the other hand, she says, if we take this right to mean no more than combating all violence against other nations, there is no need for a special clause in the programme, for Social-Democrats are, in general, opposed to all national oppression and inequality.

The first argument, as Kautsky irrefutably proved nearly twenty years ago, is a case of blaming other people for one's own nationalism, in her fear of the nationalism of the bourgeoisie of oppressed nations, Rosa Luxemburg is actually playing into the hands of the Black-Hundred nationalism of the Great Russians! Her second argument is *actually* a timid evasion of the question whether or not recognition of national equality includes recognition of the right to secession. If it does, then Rosa Luxemburg admits that, in principle, § 9 of our Programme is correct. If it does not, then she does not recognise national equality. Shuflling and evasions will not help matters here!

However, the best way to test these and all similar arguments is to study the attitude of the *various classes* of society towards this question. For the Marxist this test is obligatory. We must proceed from what is objective; we must examine the relations between the classes on this point. In failing to do so, Rosa Luxemburg is guilty of those very sins of metaphysics, abstractions, platitudes, and sweeping statements, etc., of which she vainly tries to accuse her opponents.

We are discussing the Programme of the Marxists *in Russia*, i.e., of the Marxists of all the nationalities in Russia. Should we not examine the position of the *ruling* classes of Russia?

The position of the "bureaucracy" (we beg pardon for this inaccurate term) and of the feudal landlords of our united-nobility type is well known. They definitely reject both the equality of nationalities and the right to self-determination. Theirs is the old motto of the days of serfdom: autocracy, orthodoxy, and the national essence—the last term applying only to the Great-Russian nation. Even the Ukrainians are declared to be an "alien" people and their very language is being suppressed.

Let us glance, at the Russian bourgeoisie, which was "called upon" to take part—a very modest part, it is true, but nevertheless some part—in the government, under the "June Third" legislative and administrative system. It will not need many words to prove that the Octobrists are following the Rights in this question. Unfortunately, some Marxists pay much less attention to the stand of the Great-Russian liberal bourgeoisie, the Progressists and the Cadets. Yet he who fails to study that stand and give it careful thought will inevitably flounder in abstractions and groundless statements in discussing the question of the right of nations to self-determination.

Skilled though it is in the art of diplomatically evading direct answers to "unpleasant" questions, *Rech*, the principal organ of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, was compelled, in its controversy with *Pravda* last year, to make certain valuable admissions. The trouble started over the All-Ukraine Students' Congress held in Lvov in the summer of 1913.[183] Mr. Mogilyansky, the "Ukrainian expert" or Ukrainian correspondent of *Rech*, wrote an article in which he poured vitriolic abuse ("ravings", "adventurism", etc.) on the idea that the Ukraine should secede, an idea which Dontsov, a nationalist-socialist, had advocated and the above-mentioned congress approved.

While in no way identifying itself with Mr. Dontsov, and declaring explicitly that he was a nationalist-socialist and that many Ukrainian Marxists did not agree with him, *Rabochaya Pravda* stated that the *tone* of *Rech*, or, rather, the *way it formulated the question in principle*, was improper and reprehensible for a Great-Russian democrat, or for anyone desiring to pass as a democrat.* Let *Rech* repudiate the Dontsovs if it likes, but, *from the standpoint of principle*, a Great-Russian organ of democracy, which it claims to be, cannot be oblivious of the *freedom* to secede, the *right* to secede.

A few months later, *Rech*, No. 331, published an "explanation" from Mr. Mogilyansky, who had learned from the Ukrainian newspaper *Shlyakhi*,[184] published in Lvov, of Mr. Dontsov's reply, in which, incidentally, Dontsov

* See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 268-69.—*Ed.*

stated that "the chauvinist attacks in *Rech* have been properly sullied [branded?] only in the Russian Social-Democratic press". This "explanation" consisted of the thrice-repeated statement that "criticism of Mr. Dontsov's recipes" "has nothing in common with the repudiation of the right of nations to self-determination".

> "It must be said," wrote Mr. Mogilyansky, "that even 'the right of nations to self-determination' is not a fetish [mark this!] beyond criticism: unwholesome conditions in the life of nations may give rise to unwholesome tendencies in national self-determination, and the fact that these are brought to light does not mean that the right of nations to self-determination has been rejected."

As you see, this liberal's talk of a "fetish" was quite in keeping with Rosa Luxemburg's. It was obvious that Mr. Mogilyansky was trying to evade a direct reply to the question whether or not he recognised the right to political self-determination, i.e., to secession.

The newspaper *Proletarskaya Pravda*, issue No. 4, for December 11, 1913, also put this question *point-blank* to Mr. Mogilyansky and to the Constitutional-Democratic *Party*.*

Thereupon *Rech* (No. 340) published an unsigned, i.e., official, editorial statement replying to this question. This reply boils down to the following three points:

1) §11 of the Constitutional-Democratic Party's programme speaks bluntly, precisely and clearly of the "right of nations to free *cultural* self-determination".

2) *Rech* affirms that *Proletarskaya Pravda* "hopelessly confuses" self-determination with separatism, with the secession of a given nation.

3) "*Actually, the Cadets have never pledged themselves to advocate the right of 'nations to secede' from the Russian state.*" (See the article "National-Liberalism and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", in *Proletarskaya Pravda* No. 12, December 20, 1913.**)

Let us first consider the second point in the *Rech* statement. How strikingly it shows to the Semkovskys, Liebmans, Yurkeviches and other opportunists that the hue and cry

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* See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 525-27.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 56-58 of this volume.—*Ed.*

they have raised about the alleged "vagueness", or "indefiniteness", of the term "self-determination" is *in fact*, i.e., from the standpoint of objective class relationships and the class struggle in Russia, *simply a rehash* of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie's utterances!

Proletarskaya Pravda put the following *three* questions to the enlightened "Constitutional-Democratic" gentlemen of *Rech*: (1) do they deny that, throughout the entire history of international democracy, and especially since the middle of the nineteenth century, self-determination of nations has been understood to mean precisely political self-determination, the right to form an independent national state? (2) do they deny that the well-known resolution adopted by the International Socialist Congress in London in 1896 has the same meaning? and (3) do they deny that Plekhanov, in writing about self-determination as far back as 1902, meant precisely political self-determination? When *Proletarskaya Pravda* posed these three questions, *the Cadets fell silent*!

Not a word did they utter in reply, for they had nothing to say. They had to admit tacitly that *Proletarskaya Pravda* was absolutely right.

The liberals' outcries that the term "self-determination" is vague and that the Social-Democrats "hopelessly confuse" it with separatism are nothing more than attempts to *confuse* the issue, and evade recognition of a universally established democratic principle. If the Semkovskys, Liebmans and Yurkeviches were not so ignorant, they would be ashamed to address the workers in a *liberal* vein.

But to proceed. *Proletarskaya Pravda* compelled *Rech* to admit that, in the programme of the Constitutional-Democrats, the term "cultural" self-determination means in effect the *repudiation of political* self-determination.

"Actually, the Cadets have never pledged themselves to advocate the right of 'nations to secede' from the Russian state"—it was not without reason that *Proletarskaya Pravda* recommended to *Novoye Vremya* and *Zemshchina* these words from *Rech* as an example of our Cadets' "loyalty". In its issue No. 13563, *Novoye Vremya*, which never, of course, misses an opportunity of mentioning "the Yids" and taking digs at the Cadets, nevertheless stated:

"What, to the Social-Democrats, is an axiom of political wisdom [i.e., recognition of the right of nations to self-determination, to secede], is today beginning to cause disagreement even among the Cadets."

By declaring that they "have never pledged themselves to advocate the right of nations to secede from the Russian state", the Cadets have, in principle, taken exactly the same stand as *Novoye Vremya*. This is precisely one of the fundamentals of Cadet *national-liberalism*, of their kinship with the Purishkeviches, and of their dependence, political, ideological and practical, on the latter. *Proletarskaya Pravda* wrote: "The Cadets have studied history and know only too well what—to put it mildly—pogrom-like actions the practice of the ancient right of the Purishkeviches to 'grab 'em and hold 'em' has often led to." Although perfectly aware of the feudalist source and nature of the Purishkeviches' omnipotence, the Cadets are, nevertheless, taking their stand *on the basis* of the relationships and frontiers created by that very class. Knowing full well that there is much in the relationships and frontiers created or fixed by this class that is un-European and anti-European (we would say Asiatic if this did not sound undeservedly slighting to the Japanese and Chinese), the Cadets, nevertheless, accept them as the utmost limit.

Thus, they are adjusting themselves to the Purishkeviches, cringing to them, fearing to jeopardise their position, protecting them from the people's movement, from the democracy. As *Proletarskaya Pravda* wrote: "In effect, this means adapting oneself to the interests of the feudal-minded landlords and to the worst nationalist prejudices of the dominant nation, instead of systematically combating those prejudices."

Being men who are familiar with history and claim to be democrats, the Cadets do not even attempt to assert that the democratic movement, which is today characteristic of both Eastern Europe and Asia and is striving to change both on the model of the civilised capitalist countries, is bound to leave intact the boundaries fixed by the feudal epoch, the epoch of the omnipotence of the Purishkeviches and the disfranchisement of wide strata of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

The fact that the question raised in the controversy between *Proletarskaya Pravda* and *Rech* was not merely a literary question, but one that involved a real political issue of the day, was proved, among other things, by the last conference of the Constitutional-Democratic Party held on March 23-25, 1914; in the official report of this conference in *Rech* (No. 83, of March 26, 1914) we read:

"A particularly lively discussion also took place on national problems. The Kiev deputies, who were supported by N. V. Nekrasov and A. M. Kolyubakin, pointed out that the national question was becoming a key issue, which would have to be faced up to more resolutely than hitherto. F. F. Kokoshkin pointed out, however [this "however" is like Shchedrin's "but"—"the ears never grow higher than the forehead, never!"] that both the programme and past political experience demanded that 'elastic formulas' of 'political self-determination of nationalities' should be handled very carefully."

This most remarkable line of reasoning at the Cadet conference deserves serious attention from all Marxists and all democrats. (We will note in parentheses that *Kievskaya Mysl*, which is evidently very well informed and no doubt presents Mr. Kokoshkin's ideas correctly, added that, of course, as a warning to his opponents, he laid special stress on the danger of the "disintegration" of the state.)

The official report in *Rech* is composed with consummate diplomatic skill designed to lift the veil as little as possible and to conceal as much as possible. Yet, in the main, what took place at the Cadet conference is quite clear. The liberal-bourgeois delegates, who were familiar with the state of affairs in the Ukraine, and the "Left" Cadets raised the question *precisely of the political* self-determination of nations. Otherwise, there would have been no need for Mr. Kokoshkin to urge that this "formula" should be "handled carefully".

The Cadet programme, which was of course known to the delegates at the Cadet conference, speaks of "cultural", *not* of political self-determination. Hence, Mr. Kokoshkin was *defending* the programme *against* the Ukrainian delegates, and *against* the Left Cadets; he was defending "cultural" self-determination *as opposed to* "political" self-determination. It is perfectly clear that in opposing "political" self-determination, in playing up the danger of the

"disintegration of the state", and in calling the formula "political self-determination" an "*elastic*" one (quite in keeping with Rosa Luxemburg!), Mr. Kokoshkin was defending Great-Russian national-liberalism against the more "Left" or more democratic elements of the Constitutional-Democratic Party and also against the Ukrainian bourgeoisie.

Mr. Kokoshkin won the day at the Cadet conference, as is evident from the treacherous little word "however" in the *Rech* report; Great-Russian national-liberalism has triumphed among the Cadets. Will not this victory help to clear the minds of those misguided individuals among the Marxists in Russia who, like the Cadets, have also begun to fear the "elastic formulas of political self-determination of nationalities"?

Let us, "however", examine the substance of Mr. Kokoshkin's line of thought. By referring to "past political experience" (i.e., evidently, the experience of 1905, when the Great-Russian bourgeoisie took alarm for its national privileges and scared the Cadet Party with its fears), and also by playing up the danger of the "disintegration of the state", Mr. Kokoshkin showed that he understood perfectly well that political self-determination can mean nothing else but the right to secede and form an independent national state. The question is—how should Mr. Kokoshkin's fears be appraised in the light of democracy in general, and the proletarian class struggle in particular?

Mr. Kokoshkin would have us believe that recognition of the right to secession increases the danger of the "disintegration of the state". This is the viewpoint of Constable Mymretsov, whose motto was "grab 'em and hold 'em". From the viewpoint of democracy in general, the very opposite is the case: recognition of the right to secession *reduces* the danger of the "disintegration of the state".

Mr. Kokoshkin argues exactly like the nationalists do. At their last congress they attacked the Ukrainian "Mazeppists". The Ukrainian movement, Mr. Savenko and Co. exclaimed, threatens to weaken the ties between the Ukraine and Russia, since Austrian Ukrainophilism is strengthening the Ukrainians' ties with Austria! It remains unexplained why Russia cannot try to "strengthen" her ties with the

Ukrainians *through the same method* that the Savenkos blame Austria for using, i.e., by granting the Ukrainians freedom to use their own language, self-government and an autonomous Diet.

The arguments of the Savenkos and Kokoshkins are exactly alike, and from the purely logical point of view they are equally ridiculous and absurd. Is it not clear that the more liberty the Ukrainian nationality enjoys in any particular country, the stronger its ties with that country will be? One would think that this truism could not be disputed without totally abandoning all the premises of democracy. Can there be greater freedom of nationality, as such, than the freedom to secede, the freedom to form an independent national state?

To clear up this question, which has been so confused by the liberals (and by those who are so misguided as to echo them), we shall cite a very simple example. Let us take the question of divorce. In her article Rosa Luxemburg writes that the centralised democratic state, while conceding autonomy to its constituent parts, should retain the most important branches of legislation, including legislation on divorce, under the jurisdiction of the central parliament. The concern that the central authority of the democratic state should retain the power to allow divorce can be readily understood. The reactionaries are opposed to freedom of divorce; they say that it must be "handled carefully", and loudly declare that it means the "disintegration of the family". The democrats, however, believe that the reactionaries are hypocrites, and that they are actually defending the omnipotence of the police and the bureaucracy, the privileges of one of the sexes, and the worst kind of oppression of women. They believe that in actual fact freedom of divorce will not cause the "disintegration" of family ties, but, on the contrary, will strengthen them on a democratic basis, which is the only possible and durable basis in civilised society.

To accuse those who support freedom of self-determination, i.e., freedom to secede, of encouraging separatism, is as foolish and hypocritical as accusing those who advocate freedom of divorce of encouraging the destruction of family ties. Just as in bourgeois society the defenders of privilege

and corruption, on which bourgeois marriage rests, oppose freedom of divorce, so, in the capitalist state, repudiation of the right to self-determination, i.e., the right of nations to secede, means nothing more than defence of the privileges of the dominant nation and police methods of administration, to the detriment of democratic methods.

No doubt, the political chicanery arising from all the relationships existing in capitalist society sometimes leads members of parliament and journalists to indulge in frivolous and even nonsensical twaddle about one or another nation seceding. But only reactionaries can allow themselves to be frightened (or pretend to be frightened) by such talk. Those who stand by democratic principles, i.e., who insist that questions of state be decided by the mass of the population, know very well that there is a "tremendous distance"[185] between what the politicians prate about and what the people decide. From their daily experience the masses know perfectly well the value of geographical and economic ties and the advantages of a big market and a big state. They will, therefore, resort to secession only when national oppression and national friction make joint life absolutely intolerable and hinder any and all economic intercourse. In that case, the interests of capitalist development and of the freedom of the class struggle will be best served by secession.

Thus, from whatever angle we approach Mr. Kokoshkin's arguments, they prove to be the height of absurdity and a mockery of the principles of democracy. And yet there is a modicum of logic in these arguments, the logic of the class interests of the Great-Russian bourgeoisie. Like most members of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, Mr. Kokoshkin is a lackey of the money-bags of that bourgeoisie. He defends its privileges in general, and its *state* privileges in particular. He defends them hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder with Purishkevich, the only difference being that Purishkevich puts more faith in the feudalist cudgel, while Kokoshkin and Co. realise that this cudgel was badly damaged in 1905, and rely more on bourgeois methods of fooling the masses, such as frightening the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants with the spectre of the "disintegration of the state", and deluding them with phrases

about blending "people's freedom" with historical tradition, etc.

The liberals' hostility to the principle of political self-determination of nations can have one, and only one, real class meaning: national-liberalism, defence of the state privileges of the Great-Russian bourgeoisie. And the opportunists among the Marxists in Russia, who today, under the Third of June regime, are against the right of nations to self-determination—the liquidator Semkovsky, the Bundist Liebman, the Ukrainian petty-bourgeois Yurkevich—are *actually* following in the wake of the national-liberals, and corrupting the working class with national-liberal ideas.

The interests of the working class and of its struggle against capitalism demand complete solidarity and the closest unity of the workers of all nations; they demand resistance to the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie of every nationality. Hence, Social-Democrats would be deviating from proletarian policy and subordinating the workers to the policy of the bourgeoisie if they were to repudiate the right of nations to self-determination, i.e., the right of an oppressed nation to secede, or if they were to support all the national demands of the bourgeoisie of oppressed nations. It makes no difference to the hired worker whether he is exploited chiefly by the Great-Russian bourgeoisie rather than the non-Russian bourgeoisie, or by the Polish bourgeoisie rather than the Jewish bourgeoisie, etc. The hired worker who has come to understand his class interests is equally indifferent to the state privileges of the Great-Russian capitalists and to the promises of the Polish or Ukrainian capitalists to set up an earthly paradise when they obtain state privileges. Capitalism is developing and will continue to develop, anyway, both in integral states with a mixed population and in separate national states.

In any case the hired worker will be an object of exploitation. Successful struggle against exploitation requires that the proletariat be free of nationalism, and be absolutely neutral, so to speak, in the fight for supremacy that is going on among the bourgeoisie of the various nations. If the proletariat of any one nation gives the slightest support to the privileges of its "own" national bourgeoisie, that will inevitably rouse distrust among the proletariat of

another nation; it will weaken the international class solidarity of the workers and divide them, to the delight of the bourgeoisie. Repudiation of the right to self-determination or to secession inevitably means, in practice, support for the privileges of the dominant nation.

We will get even more striking confirmation of this if we take the concrete case of Norway's secession from Sweden.

6. NORWAY'S SECESSION FROM SWEDEN

Rosa Luxemburg cites precisely this example, and discusses it as follows:

"The latest event in the history of federative relations, the secession of Norway from Sweden—which at the time was hastily seized upon by the social-patriotic Polish press (see the Cracow *Naprzód*[186]) as a gratifying sign of the strength and progressive nature of the tendency towards state secession—at once provided striking proof that federalism and its concomitant, separation, are in no way an expression of progress or democracy. After the so-called Norwegian 'revolution', which meant that the Swedish king was deposed and compelled to leave Norway, the Norwegians coolly proceeded to choose another king, formally rejecting, by a national referendum, the proposal to establish a republic. That which superficial admirers of all national movements and of all semblance of independence proclaimed to be a 'revolution' was simply a manifestation of peasant and petty-bourgeois particularism, the desire to have a king 'of their own' for their money instead of one imposed upon them by the Swedish aristocracy, and was, consequently, a movement that had absolutely nothing in common with revolution. At the same time, the dissolution of the union between Sweden and Norway showed once more to what extent, in this case also, the federation which had existed until then was only an expression of purely dynastic interests and, therefore, merely a form of monarchism and reaction." (*Przegląd*.)

That is literally all that Rosa Luxemburg has to say on this score! Admittedly, it would have been difficult for her to have revealed the hopelessness of her position more saliently than she has done in this particular instance.

The question was, and is: do the Social-Democrats in a mixed national state need a programme that recognises the right to self-determination or secession?

What does the example of Norway, cited by Rosa Luxemburg, tell us on this point?

Our author twists and turns, exercises her wit and rails at *Naprzód*, but she does not answer the question! Rosa

Luxemburg speaks about everything under the sun so as to *avoid saying a single word* about the actual point at issue!

Undoubtedly, in wishing to have a king of their own for their money, and in rejecting, in a national referendum, the proposal to establish a republic, the Norwegian petty bourgeoisie displayed exceedingly bad philistine qualities. Undoubtedly, *Naprzód* displayed equally bad and equally philistine qualities in failing to notice this.

But what has all this to do with the case?

The question under discussion was the right of nations to self-determination and the attitude to be adopted by the socialist proletariat towards this right! Why, then, does not Rosa Luxemburg answer this question instead of beating about the bush?

To a mouse there is no stronger beast than the cat, it is said. To Rosa Luxemburg there is evidently no stronger beast than the "Fracy". "Fracy" is the popular term for the "Polish Socialist Party", its so-called revolutionary section, and the Cracow newspaper *Naprzód* shares the views of that "section". Rosa Luxemburg is so blinded by her fight against the nationalism of that "section" that she loses sight of everything except *Naprzód*.

If *Naprzód* says "yes", Rosa Luxemburg considers it her sacred duty to say an immediate "no", without stopping to think that by so doing she does not reveal independence of *Naprzód*, but, on the contrary, her ludicrous dependence on the "Fracy" and her inability to see things from a viewpoint any deeper and broader than that of the Cracow anthill. *Naprzód*, of course, is a wretched and by no means Marxist organ; but that should not prevent us from properly analysing the example of Norway, once we have chosen it.

To analyse this example in Marxist fashion, we must deal, not with the vices of the awfully terrible "Fracy", but, first, with the concrete historical features of the secession of Norway from Sweden, and secondly, with the tasks which confronted the *proletariat* of both countries in connection with this secession.

The geographic, economic and language ties between Norway and Sweden are as intimate as those between the Great Russians and many other Slav nations. But the union between Norway and Sweden was not a voluntary one, and

in dragging in the question of "federation" Rosa Luxemburg was talking at random, simply because she did not know what to say. Norway was *ceded* to Sweden by the monarchs during the Napoleonic wars, against the will of the Norwegians; and the Swedes had to bring troops into Norway to subdue her.

Despite the very extensive autonomy which Norway enjoyed (she had her own parliament, etc.), there was constant friction between Norway and Sweden for many decades after the union, and the Norwegians strove hard to throw off the yoke of the Swedish aristocracy. At last, in August 1905, they succeeded: the Norwegian parliament resolved that the Swedish king was no longer king of Norway, and in the referendum held later among the Norwegian people, the overwhelming majority (about 200,000 as against a few hundred) voted for complete separation from Sweden. After a short period of indecision, the Swedes resigned themselves to the fact of secession.

This example shows us on what grounds cases of the secession of nations are practicable, and actually occur, under modern economic and political relationships, and the *form* secession sometimes assumes under conditions of political freedom and democracy.

No Social-Democrat will deny—unless he would profess indifference to questions of political freedom and democracy (in which case he is naturally no longer a Social-Democrat)—that this example *virtually* proves that it is the *bounden duty* of class-conscious workers to conduct systematic propaganda and prepare the ground for the settlement of conflicts that may arise over the secession of nations, not in the "Russian way", but *only in the way* they were settled in 1905 between Norway and Sweden. This is exactly what is meant by the demand in the programme for the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination. But Rosa Luxemburg tried to get around a fact that was repugnant to her theory by violently attacking the philistinism of the Norwegian philistines and the Cracow *Naprzód*; for she understood perfectly well that this historical fact *completely refutes* her phrases about the right of nations to self-determination being a "utopia", or like the right "to eat off gold plates", etc. Such phrases only express a smug and opportunist belief in the

immutability of the present alignment of forces among the nationalities of Eastern Europe.

To proceed. In the question of the self-determination of nations, as in every other question, we are interested, first and foremost, in the self-determination of the proletariat within a given nation. Rosa Luxemburg modestly evaded this question too, for she realised that an analysis of it on the basis of the example of Norway, which she herself had chosen, would be disastrous to her "theory".

What position did the Norwegian and Swedish proletariat take, and indeed had to take, in the conflict over secession? *After* Norway seceded, the class-conscious workers of Norway would naturally have voted for a republic,* and if some socialists voted otherwise it only goes to show how much dense, philistine opportunism there sometimes is in the European socialist movement. There can be no two opinions about that, and we mention the point only because Rosa Luxemburg is trying to obscure the issue by speaking *off the mark*. We do not know whether the Norwegian socialist programme made it obligatory for Norwegian Social-Democrats to hold particular views on the question of secession. We will assume that it did not, and that the Norwegian socialists left it an open question as to what extent the autonomy of Norway gave sufficient scope to wage the class struggle freely, or to what extent the eternal friction and conflicts with the Swedish aristocracy hindered freedom of economic life. But it cannot be disputed that the Norwegian proletariat had to oppose this aristocracy and support Norwegian peasant democracy (with all its philistine limitations).

And the Swedish proletariat? It is common knowledge that the Swedish landed proprietors, abetted by the Swedish clergy, advocated war against Norway. Inasmuch as Norway was much weaker than Sweden, had already experienced a Swedish invasion, and the Swedish aristocracy carries enor-

* Since the majority of the Norwegian nation was in favour of a monarchy while the proletariat wanted a republic, the Norwegian proletariat was, generally speaking, confronted with the alternative: either revolution, if conditions were ripe for it, or submission to the will of the majority and prolonged propaganda and agitation work.

mous weight in its own country, this advocacy of war presented a grave danger. We may be sure that the Swedish Kokoshkins spent much time and energy in trying to corrupt the minds of the Swedish people by appeals to "handle" the "elastic formulas of political self-determination of nations carefully" by painting horrific pictures of the danger of the "disintegration of the state" and by assuring them that "people's freedom" was compatible with the traditions of the Swedish aristocracy. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the Swedish Social-Democrats would have betrayed the cause of socialism and democracy if they had not fought with all their might to combat both the landlord and the "Kokoshkin" ideology and policy, and if they had failed to demand, *not only* equality of nations in general (to which the Kokoshkins also subscribe), but also the right of nations to self-determination, Norway's freedom to secede.

The close alliance between the Norwegian and Swedish workers, their complete fraternal class solidarity, *gained* from the Swedish workers' recognition of the right of the Norwegians to secede. This convinced the Norwegian workers that the Swedish workers were not infected with Swedish nationalism, and that they placed fraternity with the Norwegian proletarians above the privileges of the Swedish bourgeoisie and aristocracy. The dissolution of the ties imposed upon Norway by the monarchs of Europe and the Swedish aristocracy strengthened the ties between the Norwegian and Swedish workers. The Swedish workers have proved that in spite of *all* the vicissitudes of bourgeois policy—bourgeois relations may quite possibly bring about a repetition of the forcible subjection of the Norwegians to the Swedes!—they will be able to preserve and defend the complete equality and class solidarity of the workers of both nations in the struggle against both the Swedish and the Norwegian bourgeoisie.

Incidentally, this reveals how groundless and even frivolous are the attempts sometimes made by the "Fracy" to "use" our disagreements with Rosa Luxemburg against Polish Social-Democracy. The "Fracy" are not a proletarian or a socialist party, but a petty-bourgeois nationalist party, something like Polish Social-Revolutionaries. There never has been, nor could there be, any question of unity between

the Russian Social-Democrats and this party. On the other hand no Russian Social-Democrat has ever "repented" of the close relations and unity that have been established with the Polish Social-Democrats. The Polish Social-Democrats have rendered a great historical service by creating the first really Marxist, proletarian party in Poland, a country imbued with nationalist aspirations and passions. Yet the service the Polish Social-Democrats have rendered is a great one, not because Rosa Luxemburg has talked a lot of nonsense about § 9 of the Russian Marxists' Programme, but despite that sad circumstance.

The question of the "right to self-determination" is of course not so important to the Polish Social-Democrats as it is to the Russian. It is quite understandable that in their zeal (sometimes a little excessive, perhaps) to combat the nationalistically blinded petty bourgeoisie of Poland the Polish Social-Democrats should overdo things. No Russian Marxist has ever thought of blaming the Polish Social-Democrats for being opposed to the secession of Poland. These Social-Democrats err only when, like Rosa Luxemburg, they try to deny the necessity of including the recognition of the right to self-determination in the Programme of the *Russian* Marxists.

Virtually, this is like attempting to apply relationships, understandable by Cracow standards, to all the peoples and nations inhabiting Russia, including the Great Russians. It means being "Polish nationalists the wrong way round", not Russian, not international Social-Democrats.

For international Social-Democracy stands for the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination. This is what we shall now proceed to discuss.

7. THE RESOLUTION OF THE LONDON INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS, 1896

This resolution reads:

"This Congress declares that it stands for the full right of all nations to self-determination [*Selbstbestimmungsrecht*] and expresses its sympathy for the workers of every country now suffering under the yoke of military, national or other absolutism. This Congress calls upon the workers of all these countries to join the ranks of the class-conscious [*Klassenbewusste*—those who understand their

class interests] workers of the whole world in order jointly to fight for the defeat of international capitalism and for the achievement of the aims of international Social-Democracy."*

As we have already pointed out, our opportunists—Semkovsky, Liebman and Yurkevich—are simply unaware of this resolution. But Rosa Luxemburg knows it and quotes the full text, which contains the same expression as that contained in our programme, viz., "self-determination".

How does Rosa Luxemburg remove this obstacle from the path of her "original" theory?

Oh, quite simply ... the whole emphasis lies in the second part of the resolution ... its declarative character ... one can refer to it only by mistake!

The feebleness and utter confusion of our author are simply amazing. Usually it is only the opportunists who talk about the consistent democratic and socialist points in the programme being mere declarations, and cravenly avoid an open debate on them. It is apparently not without reason that Rosa Luxemburg has this time found herself in the deplorable company of the Semkovskys, Liebmans and Yurkeviches. Rosa Luxemburg does not venture to state openly whether she regards the above resolution as correct or erroneous. She shifts and shuffles as if counting on the inattentive or ill-informed reader, who forgets the first part of the resolution by the time he has started reading the second, or who has never heard of the discussion that took place in the socialist press *prior* to the London Congress.

Rosa Luxemburg is greatly mistaken, however, if she imagines that, in the sight of the class-conscious workers of Russia, she can get away with trampling upon the resolution of the International on such an important fundamental issue, without even deigning to analyse it critically.

Rosa Luxemburg's point of view was voiced during the discussions which took place prior to the London Congress, mainly in the columns of *Die Neue Zeit*, organ of the German

* See the official German report of the London Congress: *Verhandlungen und Beschlüsse des internationalen sozialistischen Arbeiter- und Gewerkschafts-Kongresses zu London, vom 27. Juli bis 1. August 1896*, Berlin, 1897, S. 18. A Russian pamphlet has been published containing the decisions of international congresses in which the word "self-determination" is wrongly translated as "autonomy".

Marxists; *in essence this point of view was defeated in the International*! That is the crux of the matter, which the Russian reader must particularly bear in mind.

The debate turned on the question of Poland's independence. Three points of view were put forward:

1. That of the "Fracy", in whose name Haecker spoke. They wanted the International to include in *its own* programme a demand for the independence of Poland. The motion was not carried and this point of view was defeated in the International.

2. Rosa Luxemburg's point of view, viz., the Polish socialists should not demand independence for Poland. This point of view entirely precluded the proclamation of the right of nations to self-determination. It was likewise defeated in the International.

3. The point of view which was elaborated at the time by K. Kautsky, who opposed Rosa Luxemburg and proved that her materialism was extremely "one-sided"; according to Kautsky, the International could not at the time make the independence of Poland a point in its programme; but the Polish socialists were fully entitled to put forward such a demand. From the socialists' point of view it was undoubtedly a mistake to ignore the tasks of national liberation in a situation where national oppression existed.

The International's resolution reproduces the most essential and fundamental propositions in this point of view: on the one hand, the absolutely direct, unequivocal recognition of the full right of all nations to self-determination; on the other hand, the equally unambiguous appeal to the workers for *international* unity in their class struggle.

We think that this resolution is absolutely correct, and that, to the countries of Eastern Europe and Asia at the beginning of the twentieth century, it is this resolution, with both its parts being taken as an integral whole, that gives the only correct lead to the proletarian class policy in the national question.

Let us deal with the three above-mentioned viewpoints in somewhat greater detail.

As is known, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels considered it the bounden duty of the whole of West-European democracy, and still more of Social-Democracy, to give active support to

the demand for Polish independence. For the period of the 1840s and 1860s, the period of the bourgeois revolutions in Austria and Germany, and the period of the "Peasant Reform" in Russia,[187] this point of view was quite correct and the only one that was consistently democratic and proletarian. So long as the masses of the people in Russia and in most of the Slav countries were still sunk in torpor, so long as *there were no* independent, mass, democratic movements in those countries, the liberation movement of the *gentry* in Poland assumed an immense and paramount importance from the point of view, not only of Russian, not only of Slav, but of European democracy as a whole.*[188]

But while Marx's standpoint was quite correct for the forties, fifties and sixties or for the third quarter of the nineteenth century, it has ceased to be correct by the twentieth century. Independent democratic movements, and even an independent proletarian movement, have arisen in most Slav countries, even in Russia, one of the most backward Slav countries. Aristocratic Poland has disappeared, yielding place to capitalist Poland. Under such circumstances Poland could not but lose her *exceptional* revolutionary importance.

The attempt of the P.S.P. (the Polish Socialist Party, the present-day "Fracy") in 1896 to "establish" for all time the point of view Marx had held in a *different epoch* was an attempt to use the *letter* of Marxism against the *spirit* of Marxism. The Polish Social-Democrats were therefore quite right in attacking the extreme nationalism of the Polish petty bourgeoisie and pointing out that the national question was of secondary importance to Polish workers, in

* It would be a very interesting piece of historical research to compare the position of a noble Polish rebel in 1863 with that of the all-Russia revolutionary democrat, Chernyshevsky, who (like Marx), was able to appreciate the importance of the Polish movement, and with that of the Ukrainian petty bourgeois Dragomanov, who appeared much later and expressed the views of a peasant, so ignorant and sluggish, and so attached to his dung heap, that his legitimate hatred of the Polish gentry blinded him to the significance which their struggle had for all-Russia democracy. (Cf. Dragomanov, *Historical Poland and Great-Russian Democracy*.) Dragomanov richly deserved the fervent kisses which were subsequently bestowed on him by Mr. P. B. Struve, who by that time had become a national-liberal.

creating for the first time a purely proletarian party in Poland and proclaiming the extremely important principle that the Polish and the Russian workers must maintain the closest alliance in their class struggle.

But did this mean that at the beginning of the twentieth century the International could regard the principle of political self-determination of nations, or the right to secede, as unnecessary to Eastern Europe and Asia? This would have been the height of absurdity, and (theoretically) tantamount to admitting that the bourgeois-democratic reform of the Turkish, Russian and Chinese states had been consummated; indeed it would have been tantamount (in practice) to opportunism towards absolutism.

No. At a time when bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe and Asia have begun, in this period of the awakening and intensification of national movements and of the formation of independent proletarian parties, the task of these parties with regard to national policy must be twofold: recognition of the right of all nations to self-determination, since bourgeois-democratic reform is not yet completed and since working-class democracy consistently, seriously and sincerely (and not in a liberal, Kokoshkin fashion) fights for equal rights for nations; then, a close, unbreakable alliance in the class struggle of the proletarians of all nations in a given state, throughout all the changes in its history, irrespective of any reshaping of the frontiers of the individual states by the bourgeoisie.

It is this twofold task of the proletariat that the 1896 resolution of the International formulates. That is the substance, the underlying principle, of the resolution adopted by the Conference of Russian Marxists held in the summer of 1913. Some people profess to see a "contradiction" in the fact that while point 4 of this resolution, which recognises the right to self-determination and secession, seems to "concede" the maximum to nationalism (in reality, the recognition of the *right of all* nations to self-determination implies the maximum of *democracy* and the minimum of nationalism), point 5 warns the workers against the nationalist slogans of the bourgeoisie of any nation and demands the unity and amalgamation of the workers of all nations in internationally united proletarian organisations. But this is a "contradiction"

only for extremely shallow minds, which, for instance, cannot grasp why the unity and class solidarity of the Swedish and the Norwegian proletariat *gained* when the Swedish workers upheld Norway's freedom to secede and form an independent state.

8. THE UTOPIAN KARL MARX AND THE PRACTICAL ROSA LUXEMBURG

Calling Polish independence a "utopia" and repeating this *ad nauseam*, Rosa Luxemburg exclaims ironically: Why not raise the demand for the independence of Ireland?

The "practical" Rosa Luxemburg evidently does not know what Karl Marx's attitude to the question of Irish independence was. It is worth while dwelling upon this, so as to show how a *concrete* demand for national independence was analysed from a genuinely Marxist, not opportunist, standpoint.

It was Marx's custom to "sound out" his socialist acquaintances, as he expressed it, to test their intelligence and the strength of their convictions."[189] After making the acquaintance of Lopatin, Marx wrote to Engels on July 5, 1870, expressing a highly flattering opinion of the young Russian socialist but adding at the same time:

"*Poland* is his weak point. On this point he speaks quite like an Englishman—say, an English Chartist of the old school—about Ireland."[190]

Marx questions a socialist belonging to an oppressor nation about his attitude to the oppressed nation and at once reveals a defect *common* to the socialists of the dominant nations (the English and the Russian): failure to understand their socialist duties towards the downtrodden nations, their echoing of the prejudices acquired from the bourgeoisie of the "dominant nation".

Before passing on to Marx's positive declarations on Ireland, we must point out that in general the attitude of Marx and Engels to the national question was strictly critical, and that they recognised its historically conditioned importance. Thus, Engels wrote to Marx on May 23, 1851, that the study of history was leading him to pessimistic conclusions in regard to Poland, that the importance of Poland was

temporary—only until the agrarian revolution in Russia. The role of the Poles in history was one of "bold (hotheaded) foolishness". "And one cannot point to a single instance in which Poland has successfully represented progress, even in relation to Russia, or done anything at all of historical importance." Russia contains more of civilisation, education, industry and the bourgeoisie than "the Poland of the indolent gentry". "What are Warsaw and Cracow compared to St. Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa!" Engels had no faith in the success of the Polish gentry's insurrections.

But all these thoughts, showing the deep insight of genius, by no means prevented Engels and Marx from treating the Polish movement with the most profound and ardent sympathy twelve years later, when Russia was still dormant and Poland was seething.

When drafting the Address of the International in 1864, Marx wrote to Engels (on November 4, 1864) that he had to combat Mazzini's nationalism, and went on to say: "Inasmuch as international politics occurred in the Address, I spoke of countries, not of nationalities, and denounced Russia, not the *minores gentium*." Marx had no doubt as to the subordinate position of the national question as compared with the "labour question". But his theory is as far from ignoring national movements as heaven is from earth.

Then came 1866. Marx wrote to Engels about the "Proudhonist clique" in Paris which "declares nationalities to be an absurdity, attacks Bismarck and Garibaldi. As polemics against chauvinism their doings are useful and explicable. But as believers in Proudhon (Lafargue and Longuet, two very good friends of mine here, also belong to them), who think all Europe must and will sit quietly on their hind quarters until the gentlemen in France abolish poverty and ignorance—they are grotesque." (Letter of June 7, 1866.)

"Yesterday," Marx wrote on June 20, 1866, "there was a discussion in the International Council on the present war.... The discussion wound up, as was to be foreseen, with 'the question of nationality' in general and the attitude we take towards it.... The representatives of 'Young France' (*non-workers*) came out with the announcement that all national ties and even nations were 'antiquated prejudices'. Proudhonised Stirnerism.... The whole world waits until the

French are ripe for a social revolution.... The English laughed very much when I began my speech by saying that our friend Lafargue and others, who had done away with nationalities, had spoken 'French' to us, i.e., a language which nine-tenths of the audience did not understand. I also suggested that by the negation of nationalities he appeared, quite unconsciously, to understand their absorption by the model French nation."

The conclusion that follows from all these critical remarks of Marx's is clear: the working class should be the last to make a fetish of the national question, since the development of capitalism does not necessarily awaken *all* nations to independent life. But to brush aside the mass national movements once they have started, and to refuse to support what is progressive in them means, in effect, pandering to *nationalistic* prejudices, that is, recognising "one's own nation" as a model nation (or, we would add, one possessing the exclusive privilege of forming a state).*

But let us return to the question of Ireland.

Marx's position on this question is most clearly expressed in the following extracts from his letters:

"I have done my best to bring about this demonstration of the English workers in favour of Fenianism.... I used to think the separation of Ireland from England impossible. I now think it inevitable, although after the separation there may come federation." This is what Marx wrote to Engels on November 2, 1867.

In his letter of November 30 of the same year he added:

"...what shall we advise the *English* workers? In my opinion they must make the *Repeal of the Union*" [Ireland with England, i.e., the separation of Ireland from England] (in short, the affair of 1783, only democratised and adapted to the conditions of the time) an article of their *pronunziamento*. This is the only legal and therefore only possible form of Irish emancipation which can be admitted in the programme of an *English* party. Experience must show later

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* Cf. also Marx's letter to Engels of June 3, 1867: "...I have learned with real pleasure from the Paris letters to *The Times* about the pro-Polish exclamations of the Parisians against Russia.... Mr. Proudhon and his little doctrinaire clique are not the French people."

whether a mere personal union can continue to subsist between the two countries....

"...What the Irish need is:

"1) Self-government and independence from England;

"2) An agrarian revolution...."

Marx attached great importance to the Irish question and delivered hour-and-a-half lectures on this subject at the German Workers' Union (letter of December 17, 1867).

In a letter dated November 20, 1868, Engels spoke of "the hatred towards the Irish found among the English workers", and almost a year later (October 24, 1869), returning to this subject, he wrote:

"*Il n'y a qu'un pas* [it is only one step] from Ireland to Russia.... Irish history shows what a misfortune it is for one nation to have subjugated another. All the abominations of the English have their origin in the Irish Pale. I have still to plough my way through the Cromwellian period, but this much seems certain to me, that things would have taken an other turn in England, too, but for the necessity of military rule in Ireland and the creation of a new aristocracy there."

Let us note, in passing, Marx's letter to Engels of August 18, 1869:

"The Polish workers in Posen have brought a strike to a victorious end with the help of their colleagues in Berlin. This struggle against Monsieur le Capital—even in the lower form of the strike—is a more serious way of getting rid of national prejudices than peace declamations from the lips of bourgeois gentlemen."

The policy on the Irish question pursued by Marx in the International may be seen from the following:

On November 18, 1869, Marx wrote to Engels that he had spoken for an hour and a quarter at the Council of the International on the question of the attitude of the British Ministry to the Irish Amnesty, and had proposed the following resolution:

"Resolved,

"that in his reply to the Irish demands for the release of the imprisoned Irish patriots Mr. Gladstone deliberately insults the Irish nation;

"that he clogs political amnesty with conditions alike degrading to the victims of misgovernment and the people they belong to;

"that having, in the teeth of his responsible position, publicly and enthusiastically cheered on the American slaveholders' rebellion, he now steps in to preach to the Irish people the doctrine of passive obedience;

"that his whole proceedings with reference to the Irish Amnesty question are the true and genuine offspring of that '*policy of conquest*', by the fiery denunciation of which Mr. Gladstone ousted his Tory rivals from office;

"that the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association express their admiration of the spirited, firm and high-souled manner in which the Irish people carry on their Amnesty movement;

"that this resolution be communicated to all branches of, and workingmen's bodies connected with, the International Workingmen's Association in Europe and America."

On December 10, 1869, Marx wrote that his paper on the Irish question to be read at the Council of the International would be couched as follows:

"Quite apart from all phrases about 'international' and 'humane' justice for Ireland—which are taken for granted in the International Council—*it is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connexion with Ireland*. And this is my fullest conviction, and for reasons which in part I can *not* tell the English workers themselves. For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working-class ascendancy. I always expressed this point of view in the *New York Tribune*[191] [an American paper to which Marx contributed for a long time]. Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will *never accomplish anything* until it has got rid of Ireland.... The English reaction in England had its roots in the subjugation of Ireland." (Marx's italics.)

Marx's policy on the Irish question should now be quite clear to our readers.

Marx, the "utopian", was so "unpractical" that he stood for the separation of Ireland, which half a century later has not yet been achieved.

What gave rise to Marx's policy, and was it not mistaken?

At first Marx thought that Ireland would not be liberated by the national movement of the oppressed nation, but by the working-class movement of the oppressor nation. Marx did not make an Absolute of the national movement, knowing, as he did, that only the victory of the working class can bring about the complete liberation of all nationalities. It is impossible to estimate beforehand all the possible relations between the bourgeois liberation movements of the oppressed nations and the proletarian emancipation movement of the oppressor nation (the very problem which today makes the national question in Russia so difficult).

However, it so happened that the English working class fell under the influence of the liberals for a fairly long time, became an appendage to the liberals, and by adopting a liberal-labour policy left itself leaderless. The bourgeois liberation movement in Ireland grew stronger and assumed revolutionary forms. Marx reconsidered his view and corrected it. "What a misfortune it is for a nation to have subjugated another." The English-working class will never be free until Ireland is freed from the English yoke. Reaction in England is strengthened and fostered by the enslavement of Ireland (just as reaction in Russia is fostered by her enslavement of a number of nations!).

And, in proposing in the International a resolution of sympathy with "the Irish nation", "the Irish people" (the clever L. Vl. would probably have berated poor Marx for forgetting about the class struggle!), Marx advocated the *separation* of Ireland from England, "although after the separation there may come federation".

What were the theoretical grounds for Marx's conclusion? In England the bourgeois revolution had been consummated long ago. But it had not yet been consummated in Ireland; it is being consummated only now, after the lapse of half a century, by the reforms of the English Liberals. If capitalism had been overthrown in England as quickly as Marx had at first expected, there would have been no room for a bourgeois-democratic and general national movement in Ireland. But since it had arisen, Marx advised the English workers to support it, give it a revolutionary impetus and see it through in the interests of *their own* liberty.

The economic ties between Ireland and England in the 1860s were, of course, even closer than Russia's present ties with Poland, the Ukraine, etc. The "unpracticality" and "impracticability" of the separation of Ireland (if only owing to geographical conditions and England's immense colonial power) were quite obvious. Though, in principle, an enemy of federalism, Marx in this instance granted the possibility of federation, as well,* *if only* the emancipation of Ireland was achieved in a revolutionary, not reformist way, through a movement of the mass of the people of Ireland supported by the working class of England. There can be no doubt that only such a solution of the historical problem would have been in the best interests of the proletariat and most conducive to rapid social progress.

Things turned out differently. Both the Irish people and the English proletariat proved weak. Only now, through the sordid deals between the English Liberals and the Irish bourgeoisie, is the Irish problem *being solved* (the example of Ulster shows with what difficulty) through the land reform (with compensation) and Home Rule (not yet introduced). Well then? Does it follow that Marx and Engels were "utopians", that they put forward "impracticable" national demands, or that they allowed themselves to be influenced by the Irish petty-bourgeois nationalists (for there is no doubt about the petty-bourgeois nature of the Fenian movement), etc.?

No. In the Irish question, too, Marx and Engels pursued a consistently proletarian policy, which really educated the masses in a spirit of democracy and socialism. Only such a policy could have saved both Ireland and England half a

* By the way, it is not difficult to see why, from a Social-Democratic point of view, the right to "self-determination" means *neither* federation *nor* autonomy (although, speaking in the abstract, both come under the category of "self-determination"). The right to federation is simply meaningless, since federation implies a bilateral contract. It goes without saying that Marxists cannot include the defence of federalism in general in their programme. As far as autonomy is concerned Marxists defend, not the "right" to autonomy, but autonomy *itself*, as a general universal principle of a democratic state with a mixed national composition, and a great variety of geographical and other conditions. Consequently, the recognition of the "right of nations to autonomy" is as absurd as that of the "right of nations to federation".

century of delay in introducing the necessary reforms, and prevented these reforms from being mutilated by the Liberals to please the reactionaries.

The policy of Marx and Engels on the Irish question serves as a splendid example of the attitude the proletariat of the oppressor nations should adopt towards national movements, an example which has lost none of its immense *practical* importance. It serves as a warning against that "servile haste" with which the philistines of all countries, colours and languages hurry to label as "utopian" the idea of altering the frontiers of states that were established by the violence and privileges of the landlords and bourgeoisie of one nation.

If the Irish and English proletariat had not accepted Marx's policy and had not made the secession of Ireland their slogan, this would have been the worst sort of opportunism, a neglect of their duties as democrats and socialists, and a concession to *English* reaction and the *English* bourgeoisie.

9. THE 1903 PROGRAMME AND ITS LIQUIDATORS

The Minutes of the 1903 Congress, at which the Programme of the Russian Marxists was adopted, have become a great rarity, and the vast majority of the active members of the working-class movement today are unacquainted with the motives underlying the various points (the more so since not all the literature relating to it enjoys the blessings of legality...). It is therefore necessary to analyse the debate that took place at the 1903 Congress on the question under discussion.

Let us state first of all that however meagre the Russian Social-Democratic literature on the "right of nations to self-determination" may be, it nevertheless shows clearly that this right has always been understood to mean the right to secession. The Semkovskys, Liebmans and Yurkeviches who doubt this and declare that § 9 is "vague", etc., do so only because of their sheer ignorance or carelessness. As far back as 1902, Plekhanov, in *Zarya*, defended "the right to self-determination" in the draft programme, and wrote that this demand, while not obligatory upon bourgeois democrats, was "obligatory upon Social-Democrats". "If we were to forget it or hesitate to advance it," Plekhanov wrote, "for fear of

offending the national prejudices of our fellow-countrymen of Great-Russian nationality, the call ... 'workers of all countries, unite!' would be a shameful lie on our lips...."[192]

This is a very apt description of the fundamental argument in favour of the point under consideration; so apt that it is not surprising that the "anythingarian" critics of our programme have been timidly avoiding it. The abandonment of this point, no matter for what motives, is *actually* a "shameful" concession to *Great-Russian* nationalism. But why Great-Russian, when it is a question of the right of *all* nations to self-determination? Because it refers to secession *from* the Great Russians. The interests of the *unity of the proletarians*, the interests of their class solidarity call for recognition of the right of *nations to secede*—that is what Plekhanov admitted twelve years ago in the words quoted above. Had our opportunists given thought to this they would probably not have talked so much nonsense about self-determination.

At the 1903 Congress, which adopted the draft programme that Plekhanov advocated, the main work was done by the *Programme Commission*. Unfortunately no Minutes of its proceedings were kept; they would have been particularly interesting on this point, for it was *only* in the Commission that the representatives of the Polish Social-Democrats, Warszawski and Hanecki, tried to defend their views and to dispute "recognition of the right to self-determination". Any reader who goes to the trouble of comparing their arguments (set forth in the speech by Warszawski and the statement by him and Hanecki, pp. 134-36 and 388-90 of the Congress Minutes) with those which Rosa Luxemburg advanced in her Polish article, which we have analysed, will find them identical.

How were these arguments treated by the Programme Commission of the Second Congress, where Plekhanov, more than anyone else, spoke against the Polish Marxists? They were mercilessly ridiculed! The absurdity of proposing to the Marxists of *Russia* that they should reject the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination was demonstrated so plainly and clearly that the Polish Marxists *did not even venture to repeat their arguments at the plenary meeting of the Congress*! They left the Congress, convinced of the

hopelessness of their case at the supreme assembly of Marxists—Great-Russian, Jewish, Georgian, and Armenian.

Needless to say, this historic episode is of very great importance to everyone seriously interested in *his own* programme. The fact that the Polish Marxists' arguments were completely defeated at the Programme Commission of the Congress, and that the Polish Marxists gave up the attempt to defend their views at the plenary meeting of the Congress is very significant. No wonder Rosa Luxemburg maintained a "modest" silence about it in her article in 1908—the recollection of the Congress must have been too unpleasant! She also kept quiet about the ridiculously inept proposal made by Warszawski and Hanecki in 1903, on behalf of all Polish Marxists, to "amend" §9 of the Programme, a proposal which neither Rosa Luxemburg nor the other Polish Social-Democrats have ventured (or will ever venture) to repeat.

But although Rosa Luxemburg, concealing her defeat in 1903, has maintained silence over these facts, those who take an interest in the history of their Party will make it their business to ascertain them and give thought to their significance.

On leaving the 1903 Congress, Rosa Luxemburg's friends submitted the following statement:

> "We propose that Clause 7 [now Clause 9] of the draft programme read as follows: §7. *Institutions guaranteeing full freedom of cultural development to all nations incorporated in the state*." (P. 390 of the Minutes.)

Thus, the Polish Marxists at that time put forward views on the national question that were so vague that *instead of* self-determination they practically proposed the notorious "cultural-national autonomy", only under another name!

This sounds almost incredible, but unfortunately it is a fact. At the Congress itself, attended though it was by five Bundists with five votes and three Caucasians with six votes, without counting Kostrov's consultative voice, *not a single* vote was cast for the *rejection* of the clause about self-determination. Three votes were cast for the proposal to add "cultural-national autonomy" to this clause (in favour of Goldblatt's formula: "the establishment of institutions guaranteeing the nations full freedom of cultural develop-

ment") and four votes for Lieber's formula ("the right of nations to freedom in their cultural development").

Now that a Russian liberal party—the Constitutional-Democratic Party—has appeared on the scene, we know that in *its* programme the political self-determination of nations has been replaced by "cultural self-determination". Rosa Luxemburg's Polish friends, therefore, were "*combating*" the nationalism of the P.S.P., and did it so successfully that they proposed the substitution of a *liberal* programme for the Marxist programme! And in the same breath they accused our programme of being opportunist; no wonder this accusation was received with laughter by the Programme Commission of the Second Congress!

How was "self-determination" understood by the delegates to the Second Congress; of whom, as we have seen, *not one* was opposed to "self-determination of nations"?

The following three extracts from the Minutes provide the answer:

"*Martynov* is of the opinion that the term 'self-determination' should not be given a broad interpretation; it merely means the right of a nation to establish itself as a separate polity, not regional self-government" (p. 171). Martynov was a member of the Programme Commission, in which the arguments of Rosa Luxemburg's friends were repudiated and ridiculed. Martynov was then an Economist in his views, and a violent opponent of *Iskra*; had he expressed an opinion that was not shared by the majority of the Programme Commission he would certainly have been repudiated.

Bundist Goldblatt was the first to speak when the Congress, after the Commission had finished its work, discussed §8 (the present Clause 9) of the Programme.

He said:

"No objections can be raised to the 'right to self-determination'. When a nation is fighting for independence, that should not be opposed. If Poland refuses to enter into lawful marriage with Russia, she should not be interfered with, as Plekhanov put it. I agree with this opinion within these limits" (pp. 175-76).

Plekhanov had not spoken on this subject at all at the plenary meeting of the Congress. Goldblatt was referring to what Plekhanov had said at the Programme Commission, where the "right to self-determination" had been explained

in a simple yet detailed manner to mean the right to secession. Lieber, who spoke after Goldblatt, remarked:

> "Of course, if any nationality finds that it cannot live within the frontiers of Russia, the Party will not place any obstacles in Its way" (p. 176).

The reader will see that at the Second Congress of the Party, which adopted the programme, it was unanimously understood that self-determination meant "only" the right to secession. Even the Bundists grasped this truth at the time, and it is only in our own deplorable times of continued counter-revolution and all sorts of "apostasy" that we can find people who, bold in their ignorance, declare that the programme is "vague". But before devoting time to these sorry would-be Social-Democrats, let us first finish with the attitude of the Poles to the programme.

They came to the Second Congress (1903) declaring that unity was necessary and imperative. But they left the Congress after their "reverses" in the Programme Commission, and their *last word* was a written statement, printed in the Minutes of the Congress, containing the above-mentioned proposal to *substitute* cultural-national autonomy for self-determination.

In 1906 the Polish Marxists joined the Party; *neither* upon joining *nor* afterwards (at the Congress of 1907, the conferences of 1907 and 1908, or the plenum of 1910) *did they introduce* a single proposal to amend § 9 of the Russian Programme!

That is a fact.

And, despite all utterances and assurances, this fact definitely proves that Rosa Luxemburg's friends regarded the question as having been settled by the debate at the Programme Commission of the Second Congress, as well as by the decision of that Congress, and that they tacitly acknowledged their mistake and corrected it by joining the Party in 1906, after they had left the Congress in 1903, without a single attempt to raise the question of amending § 9 of the Programme through *Party* channels.

Rosa Luxemburg's article appeared over her signature in 1908—of course, it never entered anyone's head to deny Party publicists the right to criticise the programme—and, *since*

the writing of this article, *not a single* official body of the Polish Marxists has raised the question of revising §9.

Trotsky was therefore rendering a great disservice to certain admirers of Rosa Luxemburg when he wrote, on behalf of the editors of *Borba*, in issue No. 2 of that publication (March 1914):

> "The Polish Marxists consider that 'the right to national self-determination' is entirely devoid of political content and should be deleted from the programme" (p. 25).

The obliging Trotsky is more dangerous than an enemy! Trotsky could produce *no* proof, except "private conversations" (i.e., simply gossip, on which Trotsky always subsists), for classifying "Polish Marxists" in general as supporters of every article by Rosa Luxemburg. Trotsky presented the "Polish Marxists" as people devoid of honour and conscience, incapable of respecting even their own convictions and the programme of their Party. How obliging Trotsky is!

When, in 1903, the representatives of the Polish Marxists walked out of the Second Congress *over* the right to self-determination, Trotsky could have said *at the time* that they regarded this right as devoid of content and subject to deletion from the programme.

But after that the Polish Marxists *joined* the Party whose programme this was, and they have never introduced a motion to amend it.*

Why did Trotsky withhold these facts from the readers of his journal? Only because it pays him to speculate on fomenting differences between the Polish and the Russian opponents of liquidationism and to deceive the Russian workers on the question of the programme.

Trotsky has never yet held a firm opinion on any important question of Marxism. He always contrives to worm his

* We are informed that the Polish Marxists attended the Summer Conference of the Russian Marxists in 1913 with *only* a consultative voice and did not vote at all on the right to self-determination (secession), declaring their opposition to this right in general. Of course, they had a perfect right to act the way they did, and, as hitherto, to agitate in Poland against secession. But this is not quite what Trotsky said; for the Polish Marxists did not demand the "deletion" of §9 from the programme".

way into the cracks of any given difference of opinion and desert one side for the other. At the present moment he is in the company of the Bundists and the liquidators. And these gentlemen do not stand on ceremony where the Party is concerned.

Listen to the Bundist Liebman.

"When, fifteen years ago," this gentleman writes, "the Russian Social-Democrats included the point about the right of every nationality to 'self-determination' in their programme, everyone [!] asked himself: What does this fashionable [!] term really mean? No answer was forthcoming [!]. This word was left [!] wrapped in mist. And indeed, at the time, it was difficult to dispel that mist. The moment had not come when this point could be made concrete—it was said—so let it remain wrapped in mist [!] for the time being and practice will show what content should be put into it."

Isn't it magnificent, the way this "ragamuffin"[193] mocks at the Party programme?

And why does he mock at it?

Because he is an absolute ignoramus, who has never learnt anything or even read any Party history, but merely happened to land in liquidationist circles where going about in the nude is considered the "right" thing to do as far as knowledge of the Party and everything it stands for is concerned.

Pomyalovsky's seminary student boasts of having "spat into a barrel of sauerkraut".[194] The Bundist gentlemen have gone one better. They let the Liebmans loose to spit publicly into their own barrel. What do the Liebmans care about the fact that the International Congress has passed a decision, that at the Congress of their own Party two representatives of their own Bund proved that they were quite able (and what "severe" critics and determined enemies of *Iskra* they were!) to understand the meaning of "self-determination" and were even in agreement with it? And will it not be easier to liquidate the Party if the "Party publicists" (no jokes, please!) treat its history and programme after the fashion of the seminary student?

Here is a second "ragamuffin", Mr. Yurkevich of *Dzvin*. Mr. Yurkevich must have had the Minutes of the Second Congress before him, because he quotes Plekhanov, as repeated by Goldblatt, and shows that he is aware of the fact that self-determination can only mean the right to secession. This, however, does not prevent him from spreading slander

about the Russian Marxists among the Ukrainian petty bourgeoisie, alleging that they stand for the "state integrity" of Russia. (No. 7-8, 1913, p. 83, etc.) Of course, the Yurkeviches could not have invented a better method than such slander to alienate the Ukrainian democrats from the Great-Russian democrats. And such alienation is in line with the entire policy of the group of *Dzvin* publicists who advocate the *separation* of the Ukrainian workers *in a special* national organisation!*

It is quite appropriate, of course, that a group of nationalist philistines, who are engaged in splitting the ranks of the proletariat—and objectively this is the role of *Dzvin*—should disseminate such hopeless confusion on the national question. Needless to say, the Yurkeviches and Liebmans, who are "terribly" offended when they are called "near-Party men", do not say a word, not a single word, as to how *they* would like the problem of the right to secede to be settled in the programme.

But here is the third and principal "ragamuffin", Mr. Semkovsky, who, addressing a Great-Russian audience through the columns of a liquidationist newspaper, lashes at § 9 of the Programme and at the same time declares that "for certain reasons he does not approve of the proposal" to delete this clause!

This is incredible, but it is a fact.

In August 1912, the liquidators' conference raised the national question officially. For eighteen months not a single article has appeared on the question of § 9, except the one written by Mr. Semkovsky. And in this article the author *repudiates* the programme, "without approving", however, "for *certain* reasons" (is this a secrecy disease?) the proposal to amend it! We may be sure that it would be difficult to find anywhere in the world similar examples of opportunism, or even worse—renunciation of the Party, and a desire to liquidate it.

A single example will suffice to show what Semkovsky's arguments are like:

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* See particularly Mr. Yurkevich's preface to Mr. Levinsky's book (written in Ukrainian) *Outline of the Development of the Ukrainian Working-Class Movement in Galicia*, Kiev, 1914.

"What are we to do," he writes, "if the Polish proletariat wants to fight side by side with the proletariat of all Russia within the framework of a single state, while the reactionary classes of Polish society, on the contrary, want to separate Poland from Russia and obtain a majority of votes in favour of secession by referendum? Should we, Russian Social-Democrats in the central parliament, vote together with our Polish comrades *against* secession, or—in order not to violate the 'right to self-determination'—vote *for* secession?" (*Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 71.)

From this it is evident that Mr. Semkovsky does not even understand the *point at issue*! It did not occur to him that the right to secession presupposes the settlement of the question by a parliament (Diet, referendum, etc.) of the *seceding* region, *not* by a central parliament.

The childish perplexity over the question "What are we to do", if under democracy the majority are for reaction, serves to screen the real and live issue when *both* the Purishkeviches and the Kokoshkins consider the very idea of secession criminal! Perhaps the proletarians of *all* Russia ought not to fight the Purishkeviches and the Kokoshkins today, but should by-pass them and fight the reactionary classes of Poland!

Such is the sheer rubbish published in the liquidators' organ of which Mr. L. Martov is one of the ideological leaders, the selfsame L. Martov who drafted the programme and spoke in favour of its adoption in 1903, and even subsequently wrote in favour of the right to secede. Apparently L. Martov is now arguing according to the rule:

No clever man is needed there;
Better send Read,
And I shall wait and see.[195]

He sends Read-Semkovsky along and allows our programme to be distorted and endlessly muddled up in a daily paper whose new readers are unacquainted with it!

Yes. Liquidationism has gone a long way—there are even very many prominent ex-Social-Democrats who have not a trace of Party spirit left in them.

Rosa Luxemburg cannot, of course, be classed with the Liebmans, Yurkeviches and Semkovskys, but the fact that it was this kind of people who seized upon her error shows with particular clarity the opportunism she has lapsed into.

10. CONCLUSION

To sum up.

As far as the theory of Marxism in general is concerned, the question of the right to self-determination presents no difficulty. No one can seriously question the London resolution of 1896, or the fact that self-determination implies only the right to secede, or that the formation of independent national states is the tendency in all bourgeois-democratic revolutions.

A difficulty is to some extent created by the fact that in Russia the proletariat of both the oppressed and oppressor nations are fighting, and must fight, side by side. The task is to preserve the unity of the proletariat's class struggle for socialism, and to resist all bourgeois and Black-Hundred nationalist influences. Where the oppressed nations are concerned, the separate organisation of the proletariat as an independent party sometimes leads to such a bitter struggle against local nationalism that the perspective becomes distorted and the nationalism of the oppressor nation is lost sight of.

But this distortion of perspective cannot last long. The experience of the joint struggle waged by the proletarians of various nations has demonstrated all too clearly that we must formulate political issues from the all-Russia, not the "Cracow" point of view. And in all-Russia politics it is the Purishkeviches and the Kokoshkins who are in the saddle. Their ideas predominate, and their persecution of non-Russians for "separatism", for *thinking* about secession, is being preached and practised in the Duma, in the schools, in the churches, in the barracks, and in hundreds and thousands of newspapers. It is this Great-Russian nationalist poison that is polluting the entire all-Russia political atmosphere. This is the misfortune of one nation, which, by subjugating other nations, is strengthening reaction throughout Russia. The memories of 1849 and 1863 form a living political tradition, which, unless great storms arise, threatens to hamper every democratic and *especially* every Social-Democratic movement for decades to come.

There can be no doubt that however natural the point of view of certain Marxists belonging to the oppressed nations (whose "misfortune" is sometimes that the masses of the

population are blinded by the idea of their "own" national liberation) may appear at times, *in reality* the objective alignment of class forces in Russia makes refusal to advocate the right to self-determination tantamount to the worst opportunism, to the infection of the proletariat with the ideas of the Kokoshkins. And these ideas are, essentially, the ideas and the policy of the Purishkeviches.

Therefore, although Rosa Luxemburg's point of view could at first have been excused as being specifically Polish, "Cracow" narrow-mindedness,* it is inexcusable today, when nationalism and, above all, governmental Great-Russian nationalism, has everywhere gained ground, and when policy is being shaped by this *Great-Russian nationalism*. In actual fact, it is being seized upon by the opportunists of *all* nations, who fight shy of the idea of "storms" and "leaps", believe that the bourgeois-democratic revolution is over, and follow in the wake of the liberalism of the Kokoshkins.

Like any other nationalism, Great-Russian nationalism passes through various phases, according to the classes that are dominant in the bourgeois country at any given time. Up to 1905, we almost exclusively knew national-reactionaries. After the revolution, *national-liberals* arose in our country.

In our country this is virtually the stand adopted both by the Octobrists and by the Cadets (Kokoshkin), i.e., by the whole of the present-day bourgeoisie.

Great-Russian national-democrats will *inevitably* appear later on. Mr. Peshekhonov, one of the founders of the "Popular Socialist" Party, already expressed this point of view (in the issue of *Russkoye Bogatstvo* for August 1906) when he called for caution in regard to the peasants' nationalist prejudices. However much others may slander us Bolsheviks and accuse us of "idealising" the peasant, we always

* It is not difficult to understand that the recognition by the Marxists of the *whole of Russia*, and first and foremost by the Great Russians, of the *right* of nations to secede in no way precludes *agitation* against secession by Marxists of a particular *oppressed* nation, just as the recognition of the right to divorce does not preclude agitation against divorce in a particular case. We think, therefore, that there will be an inevitable increase in the number of Polish Marxists who laugh at the non-existent "contradiction" now being "encouraged" by Semkovsky and Trotsky.

have made and always will make a clear distinction between peasant intelligence and peasant prejudice, between peasant strivings for democracy and opposition to Purishkevich, and the peasant desire to make peace with the priest and the landlord.

Even now, and probably for a fairly long time to come, proletarian democracy must reckon with the nationalism of the Great-Russian peasants (not with the object of making concessions to it, but in order to combat it).* The awakening of nationalism among the oppressed nations, which became so pronounced after 1905 (let us recall, say, the group of "Federalist-Autonomists" in the First Duma, the growth of the Ukrainian movement, of the Moslem movement, etc.), will inevitably lead to greater nationalism among the Great-Russian petty bourgeoisie in town and countryside. The slower the democratisation of Russia, the more persistent, brutal and bitter will be the national persecution and bickering among the bourgeoisie of the various nations. The particularly reactionary nature of the Russian Purishkeviches will simultaneously give rise to (and strengthen) "separatist" tendencies among the various oppressed nationalities, which sometimes enjoy far greater freedom in neighbouring states.

In this situation, the proletariat of Russia is faced with a twofold or, rather, a two-sided task: to combat nationalism of every kind, above all, Great-Russian nationalism; to recognise, not only fully equal rights for all nations in

* It would be interesting to trace the changes that take place in Polish nationalism, for example, in the process of its transformation from gentry nationalism into bourgeois nationalism, and then into peasant nationalism. In his book *Das polnische Gemeinwesen im preussischen Staat* (*The Polish Community in the Prussian State*; there is a Russian translation), Ludwig Bernhard, who shares the view of a German Kokoshkin, describes a very typical phenomenon: the formation of a sort of "peasant republic" by the Poles in Germany in the form of a close alliance of the various co-operatives and other associations of *Polish* peasants in their struggle for nationality, religion, and "Polish" land. German oppression has welded the Poles together and segregated them, after first awakening the nationalism of the gentry, then of the bourgeoisie, and finally of the peasant masses (especially after the campaign the Germans launched in 1873 against the use of the Polish language in schools). Things are moving in the same direction in Russia, and not only with regard to Poland.

general, but also equality of rights as regards polity, i.e., the right of nations to self-determination, to secession. And at the same time, it is their task, in the interests of a successful struggle against all and every kind of nationalism among all nations, to preserve the unity of the proletarian struggle and the proletarian organisations, amalgamating these organisations into a close-knit international association, despite bourgeois strivings for national exclusiveness.

Complete equality of rights for all nations; the right of nations to self-determination; the unity of the workers of all nations—such is the national programme that Marxism, the experience of the whole world, and the experience of Russia, teach the workers.

This article had been set up when I received No. 3 of *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, in which Mr. Vl. Kosovsky writes the following about the recognition of the right of all nations to self-determination:

"Taken mechanically from the resolution of the First Congress of the Party (1898), which in turn had borrowed it from the decisions of international socialist congresses, it was given, as is evident from the debate, the same meaning at the 1903 Congress as was ascribed to it by the Socialist International, i.e., political self-determination, the self-determination of nations in the field of political independence. Thus the formula: national self-determination, which implies the right to territorial separation, does not in any way affect the question of how national relations *within* a given state organism should be regulated for nationalities that cannot or have no desire to leave the existing state."

It is evident from this that Mr. Vl. Kosovsky has seen the Minutes of the Second Congress of 1903 and understands perfectly well the real (and only) meaning of the term self-determination. Compare this with the fact that the editors of the Bund newspaper *Zeit* let Mr. Liebman loose to scoff at the programme and to declare that it is vague! Queer "party" ethics among these Bundists.... The Lord alone knows why Kosovsky should declare that the Congress took over the principle of self-determination *mechanically*. Some people want to "object", but how, why, and for what reason—they do not know.

THE BOURGEOIS INTELLIGENTSIA'S METHODS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WORKERS

In all capitalist countries throughout the world, the bourgeoisie resorts to two methods in its struggle against the working-class movement and the workers' parties. One method is that of violence, persecution, bans, and suppression. In its fundamentals, this is a feudal, medieval method. Everywhere there are sections and groups of the bourgeoisie—smaller in the advanced countries and larger in the backward ones—which prefer these methods, and in certain, highly critical moments in the workers' struggle against wage-slavery, the *entire* bourgeoisie is agreed on the employment of such methods. Historical examples of such moments are provided by Chartism in England, and 1849 and 1871 in France.[196]

The other method the bourgeoisie employs against the movement is that of dividing the workers, disrupting their ranks, bribing individual representatives or certain groups of the proletariat with the object of winning them over to its side. These are not feudal but *purely* bourgeois and modern methods, in keeping with the developed and civilised customs of capitalism, with the democratic system.

For the democratic system is a feature of bourgeois society, the most pure and perfect bourgeois feature, in which the utmost freedom, scope and clarity of the class struggle are combined with the utmost cunning, with ruses and subterfuges aimed at spreading the "ideological" influence of the bourgeoisie among the wage-slaves with the object of diverting them from their struggle against wage-slavery.

In keeping with Russia's boundless backwardness, the feudal methods of combating the working-class movement are appallingly predominant in that country. After 1905,

however, considerable "progress" was to be noted in the employment of liberal and democratic methods to fool and corrupt the workers. Among the liberal "methods" we have, for example, the growth of nationalism, a stronger tendency to refurbish and revive religion "for the people" (both directly and indirectly in the form of developing idealistic, Kantian and Machist philosophy), the "successes" of bourgeois theories of political economy (combined with the labour theory of value, or substituted for it), etc., etc.

Among the democratic methods of fooling the workers and subjecting them to bourgeois ideology are the liquidationist-Narodnik-Cadet varieties. It is to these that we intend to draw our readers' attention in the present article on certain topical events that have occurred *on the fringe* of the working-class movement.

1. THE LIQUIDATORS' AND THE NARODNIKS' ALLIANCE AGAINST THE WORKERS

It is said that history is fond of irony, of playing tricks with people, and mystifying them. In history this constantly happens to individuals, groups and trends that do not realise what they really stand for, i.e., fail to understand *which class* they *really* (and not in their imagination) gravitate towards. Whether this lack of understanding is genuine or hypocritical is a question that might interest the biographer of a particular individual, but to the student of politics this question is of secondary importance, to say the least.

The important thing is how history and politics *expose* groups and trends and reveal the bourgeois nature concealed behind their "pseudo-socialist" or "pseudo-Marxist" phraseology. In the epoch of bourgeois-democratic revolutions, scores of groups and trends have everywhere, all over the world, imagined themselves to be "socialists" and have posed as such (see, for example, the schools listed by Marx and Engels in Chapter III of the *Communist Manifesto*[197]). History has speedily exposed them in a matter of ten to twenty years, or even less.

Russia is now passing through just such a phase.

It is over ten years since the Economists, then their successors the Mensheviks, and then the Mensheviks' suc-

cessors—the liquidators, began to fall away from the working-class movement.

The Mensheviks were especially vociferous in their assertions that the Bolsheviks had drawn close to the Narodniks....

And now we have before us a very definite *alliance* between the liquidators and the Narodniks directed against the working class and against the Bolsheviks, who have remained true to that class.

The alliance between the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia—liquidationist and Narodnik—against the workers has been developing spontaneously. At first it was stimulated by "practice". No wonder people say that practice marches ahead of theory (especially in the case of those who are guided by a false theory). When the St. Petersburg workers removed the liquidators from office, expelled these representatives of bourgeois influence from the executives of the trade unions and from their responsible positions on the Insurance Boards, the liquidators *found themselves* in alliance with the Narodniks.

"As soon as we came into the hall (where the election of the Insurance board was taking place)," a sincere and naïve Narodnik wrote in *Stoikaya Mysl*, issue No. 5, "the narrow and factional stand taken by the Pravdists at once became clear. But we did not lose hope. Together with the liquidators, we drew up a non-factional election list giving one seat on the board and two alternate seats." (See *Put Pravdy* No. 38, March 16, 1914.)

Poor liquidators, what a cruel trick history has played on them! How relentlessly has their new "friend and ally" the Left Narodnik, exposed them!

The liquidators did not even manage to renounce their own very formal statements and resolutions of 1903 and other years, describing the Left Narodniks as bourgeois democrats!

History has swept away phrases, dispelled illusions and exposed the class nature of the groups. Both the Narodniks and the liquidators are groups of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, whom the Marxist workers have removed from the movement, and who are trying to sneak in again under false pretences.

They are using the catchword "factionalism" as a cloak, a word that the notorious Akimov, the leader of the Economists, used as a weapon against the Iskrists at the Second Party Congress in 1903. Akimov's catchword, that of an extreme opportunist, was the only weapon left to the liquidators and Narodniks: That rag of a *Sovremennik* seemed to have come into the world with the deliberate purpose of showing up to all literate people how rotten, useless and rusty that weapon was.

This *Sovremennik* is quite a startling event in our democratic journalistic world. Side by side with the names of casual contributors (need drives all sorts of people into *strange* journals in order to earn a little money!), we find an *obviously demonstrative* combination of names intended to represent a combination of trends.

The liberal Bogucharsky; the Narodniks Sukhanov, Rakitnikov, B. Voronov, V. Chernov, and others; the liquidators Dan, Martov, Trotsky and Sher (Potresov's name was announced in issue No. 66 of *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* next to that of Plekhanov, but for some reason it ... vanished); the Machists Bazarov and Lunacharsky, and last, G. V. Plekhanov, the principal hero of *Yedinstvo** (spelt both with a small and a capital letter)—such are the *ostentatious* names that sparkle in the list of *Sovremennik*'s contributors. And fully in keeping with this, the *highlight* of the journal's trend is the advocacy (by the Narodniks) of an alliance between the Narodniks and the "Marxists" (no joking!) .

The reader can judge what this advocacy is from the articles penned by Mr. Sukhanov, the head of this journal. Here are some of the *most important* of this gentleman's "ideas".

"The old cleavage, at all events, has disappeared. It is no longer possible to determine where Marxism ends and Narodism begins. Both Narodism and Marxism will be found on either side. And both sides are neither Marxist nor 'Narodnik'. Indeed, could it, and can it, be otherwise? Can any twentieth-century collectivist think in any but the Marxist way? And can any socialist in Russia be anything but a Narodnik?"

"The same thing should be said about the present-day Marxist agrarian programme as we said last time about the Narodnik agrar-

* See Note 153.—*Ed.*

ian programme: in its method of stating the case it is a Marxist programme, but in its practical aims it is a Narodnik programme. It appeals to the 'historical course of things' and it strives to embody the slogan: land and freedom". (No. 7, pp. 75-76.)

That will suffice, I think!

This Mr. Sukhanov publicly boasts that Plekhanov agrees with him. But Plekhanov is silent!

But let us examine Mr. Sukhanov's line of argument.

This new ally of Plekhanov and the liquidators has "liquidated" the difference between Marxism and Narodism on the ground that, as he claims, the practical aims of both trends embody the slogan: land and freedom.

This, wholly and literally, is an argument in defence of "*unity*" between the workers and the bourgeoisie. We might say, for example, that "in their practical aims" both the working class and the liberal bourgeoisie "strive to embody" the slogan of a constitution. From this, the clever Mr. Sukhanov should draw the conclusion that the cleavage into proletariat and bourgeoisie has been "liquidated" and that it is "impossible to determine where" proletarian democracy "ends" and bourgeois democracy begins.

Take the text of the Marxist agrarian programme. Sukhanov behaves like all liberal bourgeois who pick out a "practical" slogan ("Constitution"!) and declare that the difference between the socialist and the bourgeois world outlook is a matter of "abstract theory"! But we take the liberty of believing that the meaning and significance of practical slogans, the interests of which class these slogans serve, and how they serve them, are matters to which class-conscious workers and all those who take an intelligent interest in politics cannot remain indifferent.

We turn to the Marxist agrarian programme (which Mr. Sukhanov referred to in order to distort it out of all recognition) and at once find, next to practical points that are objects of controversy among Marxists (for example, municipalisation), other points that are *indisputable*.

"With a view to eliminating survivals of the serf system, which are a direct and heavy burden upon the peasants, and in order to facilitate the free development of the class struggle in the rural districts" ... this is how the Marxist agrarian programme begins. To Mr. Sukhanov this is

unimportant "abstract theory"! Whether we want a constitution to facilitate the free development of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie or to facilitate "social conciliation" between the workers and the capitalists is a matter of no importance; that is "abstract theory". That is what all bourgeois would have us believe.

The bourgeois correctly expresses his class interests when he tries to persuade the workers of this. Mr. Sukhanov behaves entirely like a bourgeois when he *relegates to the background* the question as to *what* we need agrarian reforms *for*—for the purpose of facilitating the free development of the class struggle between the wage-workers and their masters, big and small, or for the purpose of facilitating "social conciliation" between them with the aid of bourgeois catchwords like "labour" economy?

A little further on we read in the Marxist agrarian programme that Marxists ... "will always and invariably oppose every attempt to check the economic progress". As is known, that is the very reason why Marxists declare that every attempt, however slight, to restrict the freedom of mobilisation (the buying, selling, mortgaging, etc.) of peasant land is a *reactionary* measure harmful to the workers and to social development as a whole.

The Narodniks—from the "Social-Cadet" Peshekhonov to the Left Narodniks of *Smelaya Mysl*—stand *for* restricting the freedom of mobilisation in one way or another. The Narodniks are the worst kind of *reactionaries* on this question, the Marxists say.

Mr. Sukhanov evades this point! He is reluctant to recall that it was this that made Plekhanov call the Narodniks "socialist-reactionaries". Mr. Sukhanov brushes "abstract theory" aside on the plea that he stands for "practice", and he brushes aside "practice" (freedom to mobilise peasant land) on the general plea that he stands for the slogan of "land and freedom".

The conclusion to be drawn is clear: Mr. Sukhanov is nothing more nor less than a bourgeois who is trying to *obscure* the class strife between workers and masters.

And it is these bourgeois that the Marxist agrarian programme refers to when it says:

"In all cases and in every situation connected with democratic agrarian reform" (note: under all circumstances and in every situation, i.e., municipalisation, division, or any other likely form) ... Marxists "make it their object to work steadily towards an independent class organisation of the rural proletariat, to explain to it the *irreconcilable* antagonism between its interests and those of the peasant bourgeoisie, to *warn it against being beguiled by the petty farming system*, which will *never*, as long as *commodity production* exists, be able to abolish poverty among the masses," etc.

That is what the Marxist agrarian programme says. That is exactly what is said in that point of the programme which the Mensheviks accepted *from the Bolsheviks' draft* at the Stockholm Congress, i.e., the point that is least disputed and most generally recognised among Marxists.

That is what it says in the most important point on the question of Narodism, which deals with the "*small* farming system".

But Mr. Sukhanov passes this question over in complete silence!

Mr. Sukhanov has done away with the "old cleavage", with the division of trends into Marxism and Narodism, *by ignoring* the clear and definite wording of the "Marxist agrarian programme" aimed *against* Narodism!

Without doubt, Mr. Sukhanov is a mere windbag—many of his kind haunt the drawing-rooms of our liberal "society"—who has no idea of Marxism, and airily "does away" with this unimportant socialist division into Marxism and Narodism.

As a matter of fact, Marxism and Narodism are poles apart, both in theory and in practice. Marx's theory is that of the development of capitalism and of the class struggle between the wage-workers and the master class. The theory of Narodism is the theory of the bourgeois whitewashing of capitalism with the aid of catchwords like "labour economy"; it is a theory which plays down, obscures and hinders the class struggle by means of these very same catchwords, by advocating restriction of the mobilisation of the land, and so forth.

Historically, the depth of the gulf between Marxism and Narodism in Russia was revealed by *practice*—not of slogans, of course, for only brainless people can regard "slogans" as "practice"—but by the practice of the *open and mass struggle of millions* in 1905-07. This practice showed that Marxism had merged with the working-class movement and that Narodism had merged (or had begun to merge) with the movement of the petty-bourgeois peasantry (the Peasant Union,[198] the First and Second Duma elections, the peasant movement, and so forth).

Narodism stands for bourgeois democracy in Russia.

This was proved by the half a century of evolution of this trend and by the open struggles of the millions in 1905-07. This was recognised repeatedly in the most emphatic and official manner by the supreme bodies of the "Marxist whole" from 1903 to 1907, and down to the Summer Conference of 1913.

The publicists' alliance that we see today among the *leaders* of Narodism (Chernov, Rakitnikov and Sukhanov) and various Social-Democratic intellectualist factions that are either openly opposed to the "underground", i.e., the workers' party (the liquidators* Dan, Martov and Cherevanin) or else help these liquidationist *workerless groups* (Trotsky and Sher, Bazarov, Lunacharsky and Plekhanov), is *in fact* nothing more nor less than an *alliance of bourgeois intellectuals directed against the workers.*

We regard Pravdism as the expression of the workers' unity on the basis of genuine recognition of the "underground" and of definite decisions that co-ordinate and guide tactics in the old spirit (the decisions of January 1912 and of February and the summer of 1913). It is a fact that between January 1, 1912 and May 13, 1914, Pravdism united 5,674 workers' groups as against 1,421 united by the liquidators, and none, or almost none, by the *Vperyod*, Plekhanov, Trotsky and Sher, and other groups. (See *Rabochy* No. 1, "From the History of the Workers' Press in Russia", p. 19 and *Trudovaya Pravda* No. 2, of May 30, 1914.**)

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* How zealously Mr. Voronov defends the liquidators in *Sovremennik*!

** See pp. 319-21 of this volume.—*Ed.*

It is a fact that this workers' unity is built on the firm basis of integral, complete and, in principle, consistent decisions on *all* questions affecting the lives of the Marxist workers. Here you have a *whole*, for four-fifths have an absolute right to represent, to act and speak on behalf of the "whole".

But the *Sovremennik* alliance of the leaders of Narodism and all sorts of Social-Democratic workerless groups (without definite tactics, without definite decisions, knowing only vacillations between the trend and the united body of Pravdism on the one hand, and the liquidators on the other) —this alliance sprang up *spontaneously*. *Not one* of the "Social-Democratic workerless groups" dared to come out *in favour of* such an alliance straightforwardly, clearly and openly—because the Summer Conference of 1913 expressed opposition to an alliance with the Narodniks! Not one of these groups, neither the liquidators, the *Vperyod* people, nor Plekhanov and Co., and Trotsky and Co., dared do this! All of them simply swam with the stream, carried along by their opposition to Pravdism and a desire to break or weaken it, and instinctively seeking assistance one from another *against* the four-fifths of the workers—the liquidators from Sukhanov and Chernov, Sukhanov and Chernov from Plekhanov, Plekhanov from these two, Trotsky also from them, and so forth. None of these groups displays anything like a uniform policy, tactics that can be called at all definite, or a frank declaration to the workers in defence of its alliance with the Narodniks.

It is a most unprincipled alliance of bourgeois intellectuals against the workers. Plekhanov is to be pitied for the disreputable company he finds himself in, but let us face the truth squarely. People can call the alliasnce of these groups "unity" if they wish to, but we call it a *breakaway* from the working-class whole, and the *facts* prove that our view is correct.

2. HOW THE LIBERALS DEFEND "UNITY" BETWEEN THE WORKERS AND THE LIQUIDATORS

The arrival in Russia of Emile Vandervelde, the Chairman of the International Socialist Bureau, naturally gave a fillip to the discussion of the question of unity. E. Vander-

velde's immediate mission was to collect information on this question, explore the ground and take all possible steps to promote unity. We know from press reports that he visited the editorial offices of both newspapers, the Marxist and liquidationist, and exchanged opinions with representatives of both these newspapers at a "banquet".

Soon after Vandervelde returned to Brussels, an interview with the Chairman of the International Socialist Bureau appeared in the two principal French socialist dailies, the Paris *Humanité*[199] and the Brussels *Peuple* in their issues of Sunday, June 21, new style. In this interview the differences among the Russian Social-Democrats were inaccurately formulated by Vandervelde. Some of them, he said, "want to organise legally and demand the right of association, while others want to secure the immediate proclamation ... of the 'pillar'* ... and the expropriation of the land." Vandervelde called *this* difference "rather childish".

We shall scarcely be wrong in assuming that this comment of Vandervelde's will evoke a "rather good-natured" smile from class-conscious workers in Russia who read it. If "some" "want to organise legally", that is, if they stand for an open, legal party, then it is obvious that others challenge *this point*, not by referring to the "pillar" or "pillars", but by defending the "underground" and categorically refusing to take part in the "struggle for a legal party". A difference of this kind is one that affects the Party's very existence and—our highly esteemed comrade E. Vandervelde will forgive our saying so—there can be no "conciliation" here. It is impossible partly to abolish the "underground" and partly to substitute a legal party for it....

But Vandervelde did not only question people about the differences. On this matter both the Chairman and the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau have collected in their briefcases a mass of documents, reports and letters from representatives of all and sundry, from real and from fictitious "leading bodies". Vandervelde evidently decided to take advantage of his visit to St. Petersburg to collect certain *factual* data on the degree to which the different socialist (and "pseudo-socialist") trends and groups in Russia

* I.e., a democratic republic.—*Ed.*

exercise *mass* influence. Vandervelde is a man with no little political experience, and of course he knows perfectly well that in politics in general and in the working-class movement in particular only those trends which exercise mass influence can be taken seriously.

On this question we find the following statement by Vandervelde in the two French socialist newspapers mentioned above: "The socialists in Russia have three daily newspapers. The revolutionaries [evidently this refers to the Left Narodniks] publish newspapers with a circulation of 10,000 to 12,000; the Leninists have a circulation of 35,000 to 40,000 and the moderates [*moderés*—evidently this refers to the liquidators] about 16,000."

Here E. Vandervelde is slightly in error. As is well known, the Left-Narodnik newspaper is not a daily; it comes out three times a week. Moreover, according to our information, he has understated the maximum circulation of the Pravdist newspaper; it has reached 48,000. It would be desirable for exact information on this question (so important for a study of the working-class movement) to be collected for a whole month for example, if it is impossible to collect it for a year.

But what a great difference there is between Vandervelde, the true European, who attaches no importance to Asiatic gullibility or rule-of-thumb methods but collects the *facts*, and the Russian, liquidationist and liberal-bourgeois windbags, who pose as "Europeans"! For example, in an article published in the newspaper *Rech* and entitled "E. Vandervelde and the Russian Socialists" (No. 152, of June 7 [20], the day before the interview with Vandervelde appeared in Paris and Brussels), the official representatives of the Cadets wrote the following:

> "When, at a dinner-party, one of the Bolsheviks assured Vandervelde that they had no one to unite with, as 'in the workshops, among the working class, all were already united around the single Pravdist banner, except for a mere handful of intellectuals', he of course, was guilty of an exaggerated polemical overstatement."

This is a sample of a liquidationist and liberal lie clothed in glib and polished phrases.

"An exaggerated polemical overstatement!" As if there are overstatements which are not exaggerations.... The

official Cadets not only write in an illiterate manner, but also deliberately deceive their readers. If the Bolsheviks were guilty of "a polemical overstatement" why don't you, Cadet gentlemen—since you have raised this question in the press—quote *facts* that are not an overstatement and not polemical?

During the three or four days he spent in Russia, E. Vandervelde, who does not know Russian, managed to collect *objective* data. But the St. Petersburg Cadets, just like the St. Petersburg liquidators,* have *never* published *any* objective data in their newspapers, and groundlessly and hypocritically accuse the Pravdists of "overstatement"!

Let us take Vandervelde's data. According to these, the weekly circulation of the Marxist, liquidationist and Narodnik newspapers respectively is as follows:

		per cent	per cent	
Marxist newspaper	240,000	64.5	71.4	100%
Liquidationist	96,000	25.8	28.6	
Narodnik	36,000	9.7		
Total	372,000	100.0		

These are the objective data collected by the Chairman of the International Socialist Bureau. Even if we include the Narodniks, with whom *only* the liquidators, Machists and Plekhanov wish to "unite" but are afraid to say so openly, the Pravdists still have a majority of nearly two-thirds. Without counting the Narodniks, the Pravdists have a majority of 71.4 per cent, i.e., *more than seven-tenths*, over the liquidators!

But the newspapers are read and maintained not only by workers. The objective data on collections published in both the Marxist and liquidationist newspapers have shown that (between January 1 and May 13, 1914) the Pravdists had 80 per cent of the workers' groups, the St. Petersburg percentage being as high as 86. Of the sum of 21,000 rubles collected by the Pravdists, over eight-tenths was from workers, whereas with the liquidators, *more than half the*

* The liberal *Kievskaya Mysl*, for which a large number of liquidators write, published the interview with Vandervelde from *Le Peuple*, but omitted the circulation figures! (*Kievskaya Mysl* No. 159.)

donations came from the bourgeoisie.* Hence, it has been fully and definitely proved that the circulation figures *understate* the predominance of the Pravdists, since the liquidationist newspaper *is maintained* by the bourgeoisie. And the no less objective returns of the Insurance Board elections show that during the election of the All-Russia Insurance Board the Bolsheviks had 47 delegates out of 57, i.e., 82.4 per cent.

In spreading among the masses, through the medium of their press, the accusation that the Pravdists "overstate" (and even "exaggeratedly overstate"), without quoting any objective data either on the circulation of the newspapers, or on the workers' groups, or on the Insurance Board elections, the Cadets are deliberately lying, and *elevating the liquidators*.

The class interests of Russia's liberal bourgeoisie compel it of course to defend the liquidators, whom the Marxists unanimously regard (the decision of 1910) as "*vehicles of bourgeois influence on the proletariat*". But when, at the same time, the liberals try to pose as "impartial" people, their lie becomes particularly hypocritical and disgusting.

The Cadets' utterances have one and only one political purpose, viz., to use the liquidators as vehicles of bourgeois influence on the workers.

"There is no doubt," *Rech* continues, "that genuine [!] working-class intellectuals, those workers who bore the brunt of Social-Democratic [! as appraised by the Cadets, who are experts in Social-Democracy] work in the most trying years, sympathise, not with the Bolsheviks, but with their opponents [the liquidators and Mensheviks]. To dissever these elements from the Russian workers' party would so impoverish it intellectually that the Bolsheviks themselves would stand aghast at their own handiwork."

This is what the Cadets write in a *Rech* editorial article.

And here, for comparison, is what L. M., the liquidators' ideological leader, wrote in issue No. 3 of *Nasha Zarya* (1914, p. 68).

"This is a revolt [of the Pravdist workers] against the Dementievs, Gvozdevs, Chirkins, Romanovs, Bulkins, Kabtsans and the rest, as

* See the article "The Working Class and Its Press" in *Trudovaya Pravda*, June 14. (See pp. 363-71 of this volume.—*Ed*.)

representatives of a whole—and, in the capitals, fairly large—section of the Marxist workers, who have been trying to 'liquidate' the childishly romantic stage of the Russian working-class movement.

As you see, the similarity is complete. In Rech editorial articles the Cadets fully repeat in their own name the refrain that L. M. sings in *Nasha Zarya*. The limited circulations of *Nasha Zarya* and *Nasha Likvidatorskaya Gazeta* are *supplemented* by the Cadet newspapers, which vouch for the Social-Democracy of Bulkin, Chirkin and Co.

Mr. L. M. gives the names of a handful of liquidationist workers. We willingly repeat these names. All class-conscious workers in Russia will at once recognise these *liberal workers*, who have long been known for the struggle they have been waging against the "underground", i.e., against the Party. Read what Bulkin wrote in this very same *Nasha Zarya* alongside of L. M. and you will see that both repudiate the "underground" and, to the delight of the liberals, abuse it.

And so we shall place on record and take cognisance of the fact that the "Dementievs, Gvozdevs, Chirkins, Romanovs, Bulkins and Kabtsans", whom Mr. L. M. mentions, are, *as the Cadets assure us*, "genuine working-class intellectuals". They are indeed genuine liberal workers! This is fully borne out by Bulkin's article. We strongly advise class-conscious workers not yet familiar with the utterances of the above-mentioned liberal proletarians to read it.

The liberal *Rech* tries to scare us with the prospect of the "disseverance from the workers' party" of these (as *Rech* assures us) Social-Democrats, of these Social-Democrats whom *Rech* eulogises.

But we shall reply merely with a smile, for it is common knowledge that this handful of men have cut themselves off by going over to the liberal-liquidators, and that this "disseverance" served as a guarantee and foundation for the formation of a genuine *workers*' (not liberal-labour) party.

In the same editorial article *Rech* praises the "*civic courage of the calm and sometimes damping utterances*" of the liquidators and liberal workers. Trust *Rech* and the liberals to praise them! The liberals in Russia, particularly after 1905, can exert no direct influence on the workers. They cannot help appreciating the liquidators, who under the guise of

Social-Democracy carry on the same liberal "damping" work and act as vehicles for this same "bourgeois influence on the proletariat" (see decision of 1910!).

"The differences between them [the Social-Democratic groups] will not be soon removed," *Rech* writes, "but while preserving their specific features they must unite, not carry their strife into the ranks of the workers, who are only just awakening to conscious political life. The split among the workers is a matter of great rejoicing to the reactionaries. This alone is enough to make honest people in both groups strive sincerely and seriously for unity."

This is what *Rech* writes.

We are very glad *not* to belong to the liberal company of "honest" people and to those they regard as "honest". We would consider it a *dishonour* to belong to such people. We are convinced that only utterly naïve or foolish people can believe in the "impartiality" of the liberal bourgeois, especially where the working-class movement for emancipation, i.e., its movement against the bourgeoisie, is concerned.

The Cadets are mistaken in thinking that the Russian workers are childishly naïve, or that they are capable of believing the liberal bourgeoisie's "impartial" appraisal of "honesty". The liberal bourgeois regards the liquidators and their advocates as "honest" men *because*, *and only because*, liquidationism renders a political service to the bourgeoisie as a vehicle of bourgeois influence on the proletariat.

Accepting full responsibility for their acts, the united Marxists of Russia declared straightforwardly, openly and before all the workers of Russia, that a definite group of liquidators, the *Nasha Zarya* and *Luch* group, etc., stood *beyond the pale of the Party*. This declaration was made in January 1912. Since then, in the course of two-and-a-half years, 5,674 workers' groups, as against 1,421 groups for the liquidators and all their supporters, i.e., four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia, have aligned themselves with Pravdism, i.e., *approved of* the January decision. The liquidators acted in such a way that the workers *moved away* from them. Our decision has been confirmed by events and by the experience of the vast majority of the workers.

It is in their own *selfish class* interests that the liberals advocate "unity" (between the workers and the liquidators).

Only the liquidators' breakaway from the workers' party enabled the latter to weather the hard times *with honour*—we attach to this word a different meaning from what you *Rech* gentlemen do! The separation of the liquidators from the workers' party gave the reactionaries cause, not for "rejoicing" but for *sorrow*, since the liquidators stood in the way of recognition of the old forms, the old "hierarchy", the old decisions, etc., and they themselves, for two-and-a-half years, proved absolutely incapable of forming any kind of organisation whatsoever. The "August" (1912) bloc of the liquidators and their friends collapsed.

It was only *despite* the liquidators, only *without* them and *against* them, that the workers were able to conduct that brilliant campaign of strikes, insurance elections and the establishment of newspapers which everywhere resulted in a four-fifths majority for the opponents of liquidationism.

By a "split" the liberals understand the removal from the workers' ranks of the opponents of the "underground", a handful of liquidationist intellectuals. By "unity" they understand the *maintenance* of liquidationist *influence* over the workers.

We regard the matter differently. By "unity" we mean the fact of four-fifths of the workers having rallied around the old banner. By a split we mean the refusal of the liquidationist group to accept and bow to the will of the majority of the workers, thus flouting that will. Convinced by experience that during two-and-a-half years Pravdism has rallied four-fifths of the workers, we consider it necessary to advance towards still greater unity along the *same path*—from four-fifths to nine-tenths, and then to ten-tenths of the workers.

The difference in the positions and points of view of the proletariat and of the bourgeoisie gives rise to two opposite views regarding the liquidators—our view and that of the liberals.

How is Plekhanov's position to be explained? In 1908 he broke with the liquidators so emphatically, and at one time upheld, in the press, the Party's decisions in opposition to the liquidators with such firmness, that some people hoped that his vacillations had come to an end. Now, when four-fifths of the workers have rallied around Pravdism, Ple-

khanov is beginning to vacillate again. The only possible explanation of his "position", which, in effect, now *fully* coincides with that of the liberal *Rech*, is that it is due to his personal vacillations—a disease he contracted in 1903.

Like *Rech*, Plekhanov interprets "unity" to mean ensuring the liquidators' influence over the workers in defiance of the will of the workers, in defiance of the Party's decisions, in spite of the liquidators' flouting of these decisions. Yesterday Plekhanov compared Mr. Potresov with Judas, and quite rightly stated that the apostles were stronger *without* Judas than *with* him. Today, however, when the *facts* have definitely proved that the liquidators are entirely at one with Potresov and that they flout the Party's decisions, Plekhanov turns towards the liquidators and advises the Pravdists not to talk to them in the "language of conquerors"! In other words, to put it more bluntly, the majority of the workers should *refrain* from demanding that their will be recognised and their decisions respected by the minority, which follows the lead of those who are deliberately violating the Party's decisions!

The class-conscious workers will have to sadly admit that Plekhanov is suffering from another attack of the political disease of wavering and vacillation which he contracted ten years ago ... and will ignore him.

There is, however, another explanation of Plekhanov's vacillations, an explanation to which we give second place because it does Plekhanov even less credit. Groups of vacillating intellectuals inevitably spring up between the contending *trends*—the liquidationist (which draws its social strength from the sympathy of the liberal bourgeoisie) and the Pravdist (which draws its strength from the class-consciousness and solidarity of the majority of the workers in Russia, who are awakening from their darkness and are seeing the light). These groups have no social force behind them, and can have no mass influence on the workers, because politically they are mere cyphers. Instead of a firm, clear line which attracts the workers and is confirmed by living experience, *narrow circle diplomacy* reigns in such groups. The absence of contact with the masses, the absence of historical roots in

the mass trends of Social-Democracy in Russia (Social-Democracy became a mass movement in Russia with the strikes of 1895), and the absence of a consistent, integral, clear and absolutely definite line tested by many years of experience, i.e., lack of answers to the questions of tactics, organisation and programme—such is the soil on which narrow circle diplomacy thrives, and such are its symptoms.

Plekhanov's newspaper *Yedinstvo*, as a political body, reveals all these symptoms (like Trotsky's *Borba*. Incidentally, let the reader ponder over the *reasons* for the disunity between these alleged "uniters", *Borba* and *Yedinstvo*...). Deputy Buryanov, like every deputy who is comparatively "long-lived" among the very short-lived politicians in Russia, was for a long time a liquidator, but has now "vacillated" towards Plekhanov. Whither he has vacillated and for how long, he does not himself know. But for narrow circle diplomacy there is, of course, no greater stroke of luck than the acquisition of such a "vacillating" deputy, who aspires to "unity" between the Six who want to help the liquidators of the Party *flout* the will of the majority of the workers, and the Six who want to give effect to that will.

Imagine "unity" between the two Sixes *independently* of the will of the majority of the workers. You will say that it is unimaginable and monstrous, because deputies should perform the will of the majority! But what the proletariat regards as monstrous the *liberals* regard as a virtue, a boon, a blessing, honesty, and probably, even something sacred. (Struve, in *Russkaya Mysl*, will certainly argue tomorrow, and he will be supported in this by Berdayev, Izgoyev, Merezhkovsky and Co., that the Leninists are sinful "splitters", while the liquidators and Plekhanov, who is today defending them from the "conqueror" workers, are holy instruments of the will of God.)

Accept for a moment this (in effect liberal) point of view of "unity" between the two Duma Sixes *independently* of the will of the majority of the workers. You will at once realise that it is in the narrow circle interests of Buryanov and the group of publicists who write for *Yedinstvo to play upon* the differences between the two Sixes, and use their differences in order to act the perpetual role of the "conciliator"!

Such a conciliator, be it Buryanov, Trotsky, Plekhanov, Sher, Chernov, Sukhanov, or anybody else, may say: On the one hand, the liquidationist Six are wrong, for they are liquidating the Party's decisions. On the other hand, the Pravdist Six are wrong, because they talk to their colleagues in the unbecoming, improper, and sinful "language of conquerors", claiming to do so on behalf of an alleged majority. Such a "conciliator" may even go to the length of calling this eclectic and intriguer's conduct "dialectical" and lay claim to the title of "uniter".... After all, there have been cases like this in our Party. Recall, for example, the part played by the Bundists and Tyszka at the Stockholm and London congresses, and in the period of 1906-11 in general.

Those were happy days for the narrow circle diplomats and sad ones for the workers' party, days when the class-conscious workers had not yet rallied closely enough against those vehicles of bourgeois influence, the Economists and Mensheviks.

Those days are now passing. *Rech*, the Cadet organ, *bewails* the "carrying of strife into the ranks of the workers". This is the point of view of the liberal gentleman. We *welcome* the "carrying of strife into the ranks of the workers", for they and they alone will *distinguish* between "strife" and differences on principles; they will sort out these differences for *themselves*, form *their own* opinion and decide not "with whom to go, but where to go",* i.e., their own definite and clear line, drawn up and tested by themselves.

That day is approaching and it has come. The mass of Pravdist workers can *already* distinguish between "strife" and differences; they have already sorted out these disagreements for themselves and have already determined their own line. The figures concerning the workers' groups *after* two years of open struggle (1912 and 1913) have proved this *in fact*.

Narrow circle diplomacy is coming to an end.**

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* As it was magnificently expressed by the Moscow workers (see *Rabochy* No. 6, of May 29, 1914), who at once saw through the fraud of Plekhanov's *Yedinstvo*.

** The participation of the *leaders* of the various groups, such as the liquidators' group (Dan and Martov), Plekhanov's, Trotsky's, and Lunacharsky's groups, in the alliance with the Narodniks (*Sov-*

3. WHY THE WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS PUBLICLY DENOUNCED THE LIQUIDATORS AS SLANDERERS?

Put Pravdy, issue No. 92 for May 21, 1914, published the resolution adopted by *representatives of ten industrial organisations in the city of Moscow*. This resolution very emphatically and sharply condemned Malinovsky's disruptive resignation as a "crime", then expressed complete confidence in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma ("march firmly along your road—the working class is with you!"), and lastly, publicly denounced the liquidators of *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* as people who "*throw scurrilous abuse at the retiring deputy*"; these people's conduct is compared with "the spreading of slanderous rumours by the Right press with the object of creating confusion in the ranks of the workers".

"It is the sacred duty of all those to whom the cause of labour is dear," the representatives of the ten industrial organisations of Moscow stated in their resolution, "to rally their forces and offer united resistance to the slanderers." "In reply, the working class will rally more closely around its representatives [i.e., the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group] and *contemptuously ignore the slanderers*."

There is no need for us to quote any more of the numerous workers' resolutions couched in similar terms, or the opinion of the Lettish workers' newspaper,* etc. That would be need less repetition.

Let us see what happened.

Why did the class-conscious workers of Russia, through the representatives of ten industrial organisations in Moscow, and many others, publicly denounce the liquidators of

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remennik) is another sample of narrow circle diplomacy, for *not one of them* had the courage to say to the workers beforehand, plainly and straightforwardly, "I am joining this alliance for such and such a reason". As the fruit of narrow circle diplomacy, *Sovremennik* is a still-born undertaking.

* "We do not think it is necessary to deal with the rumours that have been circulated by the press, or with the downright slander uttered against Malinovsky and against the whole group and its consistent line because such slander is *always spread for a dishonest purpose*, and always proves false." (*Trudovaya Pravda* No. 1, May 23, 1914.)

Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta as filthy slanderers, and call upon the working class contemptuously to ignore them?

What did *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* do?

It spread insidious rumours and insinuations to the effect that Malinovsky is an agent provocateur.

It did not name a single accuser. It did not quote a single definite fact. It did not submit a scrap of definitely formulated evidence, backed by references to at least Party pseudonyms, to objects of police raids, dates, or anything of the kind.

All we had was insidious rumours, an attempt to create a sensation out of Malinovsky's "inexplicable" resignation from the Duma. But it was precisely for this inexplicable resignation, for this secret flight that the organised workers, the members of the workers' party, severely censured Malinovsky.

The organised Marxist workers at once called together all their various local, trade union, Duma and all-Russia directing bodies, and straightforwardly and publicly declared to the proletariat and to the world at large: Malinovsky did not give us the reasons for his resignation, nor did he give us any warning of it. This inexplicable behaviour, this act of unprecedented insubordination, makes his conduct that of a deserter at a time when we are waging a grim, arduous and responsible class struggle. We have judged the deserter and ruthlessly condemned him. There is no more to be said about it. The case is closed.

"One person is nothing. The class is everything. Stick to your guns. We are with you" (telegram sent by forty Moscow shop assistants to the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group. See *Put Pravdy* No. 86, May 14, 1914).

The case is closed. The organised workers saw it through to the end in an *organised* manner, then closed their ranks for further work. Forward, to work!

But intellectualist circles behave differently. The "inexplicable" affair does not induce them to deal with it in an *organised* manner (*not a single* leading body of the liquidators or of their friends came out with an open, straightforward and *full appraisal of the merits of the case*!) but rouses *scandal-mongering* interest. Ah, "here is something inexplicable!"—the gossips of intellectual society are intrigued.

The gossips have no facts whatever to go by. The scandal-mongers of Martov's circle are *incapable of organised* action, of calling together a committee, collecting information of political interest or significance, of verifying, analysing, jointly discussing, and formulating an official and responsible decision for the guidance of the proletariat. The gossips are incapable of doing anything like that.

But then these intellectual gossips are past masters of the art of scandal-mongering, of going to or from Martov (or other filthy slanderers like him) and encouraging insidious rumours, or picking up and passing on insinuations! Whoever has been but once in the company of these scandal-mongering intellectualist gossips will certainly (unless he is a gossip himself) retain for the rest of his life disgust for these despicable creatures.

Each to his own. Every social stratum has its own way of life, its own habits and inclinations. Every insect has its own weapon. Some insects fight by excreting a foul-smelling liquid.

The organised Marxist workers acted in an organised manner. They closed in an organised manner the case of the unsanctioned resignation of a former colleague, and carried on with their work, went on with the struggle in an organised manner. The liquidationist intellectualist gossips could not and did not go further than filthy gossip and slander.

The organised Marxist workers at once recognised these gossips, from the very first articles in *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, and at once gave them the appraisal they fully deserved: "filthy slander", "contemptuously ignore them". Not a shadow of belief in the "rumours" circulated by Martov and Dan; a firm determination to ignore them, to attach no importance to them.

Incidentally, the workers, who were indignant with the liquidators, referred in their resolutions to the liquidators in general. I believe it would have been far more correct to name Martov and Dan, as was done in Lenin's telegram,[200] and in some of the articles and resolutions. We have no grounds for accusing *all* the liquidators and branding them publicly for indulging in filthy slander. But for ten years, beginning with their attempt to flout the will of the Second (1903) Party Congress, Martov and Dan have repeatedly shown their

"style" of fighting by means of insinuations and filthy slander. It was of no avail for these two individuals to try and hide behind the plea that somebody or other was divulging the names of the actual editors of *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*. Nowhere has a word or a sound been uttered about editorship, or actual editors.

But the slanderers, whom the workers' party knows from its ten years of history, had to be named, and named they were.

The slanderers tried to bamboozle the inexperienced, or those utterly incapable of thinking for themselves, by means of the "plausible" demand for an "unofficial" trial. They pleaded ignorance of anything definite, asserted that they were not accusing anybody, that rumours were "not enough" to ground a charge on, for they could serve only as a basis for "investigation"!

But the entire *corpus delicti*—to use a legal term—of filthy slander consists in people circulating insidious, anonymous rumours in the press, without mentioning a single honest citizen, or a single reputable and responsible democratic body capable of vouching *for the truth* of these rumours!

That is the crux of the matter.

Martov and Dan have long been known and repeatedly exposed as slanderers. This has been spoken of dozens of times in the press abroad. When Martov, in collaboration with and on the responsibility of Dan, wrote the special libellous pamphlet, *Saviours or Destroyers*, *even* the mild and cautious Kautsky, who has of late been greatly given to making "concessions" to the liquidators, called it "*disgusting*".

That is a fact long ago published in the press abroad.

And after this, Martov and Dan want us to agree to an investigation undertaken on *their* initiative, on the basis of *their* slanderous statements, and *with the participation* of the very groups that shield them!

That is downright impudence, and sheer stupidity on the part of the slanderers.

We *do not believe* a single word of Dan's and Martov's. *We shall never agree* to any "investigation" into insidious rumours *with the participation* of the liquidators and the groups that help them. This would mean *covering up* the

crime committed by Martov and Dan. We shall however thoroughly expose it to the working class.

When Martov and Dan, with their backers, the Bundists, Chkheidze and Co., the August bloc members, etc., directly or indirectly call upon us to conduct a joint "investigation" with them, we say in reply: "We do not trust Martov and Dan. We do not regard them as honest citizens. We shall treat them as despicable slanderers and nothing else."

Let those who shield Dan and Martov, or the weak-kneed intellectuals who believe the "rumours" circulated by those gentlemen, bemoan the idea of a bourgeois court. That does not frighten us. Against the blackmailers, we are *always and absolutely* in favour of the bourgeois legality of a bourgeois court.

When a man says: "Give me a hundred rubles, otherwise I shall reveal the fact that you are unfaithful to your wife and are living with A."—that is criminal blackmail. In such a case we are in favour of appealing to a bourgeois court.

When a man says: "Make political concessions to me, recognise me as an equal member of the Marxist body, or else I shall spread rumours about Malinovsky being an agent provocateur"—that is political blackmail.

In such a case we are in favour of appealing to a bourgeois court.

And this point of view was adopted by the workers *themselves* who, as soon as they read the very first articles of Dan and Martov, distrusted them, and did not say to themselves: "Really, if Martov and Dan write about these 'rumours' they must be true?" No, the workers grasped the point *at once* and said: "The working class will ignore filthy slander."

Either make a direct charge backed by your signatures, so that a bourgeois court may convict and punish you (there are no other means of combating blackmail), or continue to carry the stigma of slanderers that the representatives of the ten workers' industrial organisations have publicly placed upon you. That is the alternative that confronts you, Messrs. Martov and Dan!

A leading body investigated these rumours and pronounced them absurd. The workers of Russia trust this body, and it will *utterly* expose those who spread slander. Martov must not think that *he* will remain unexposed.

But, you will say, the political groups which defend the liquidators, or even partly sympathise with them, do not trust our leading body. Of course they do not. We do not want them to trust us, and we shall *not take a single* step that might suggest that we place the slightest trust in them.

We say: Gentlemen, members of the groups *that trust* Martov and Dan, and want to "unite" with them, all of you August bloc people, Trotskyists, Vperyodists, Bundists, and so on, and so forth, please come out in the open and show your true colours! Either of two things, gentlemen:

Since you yourselves want to "unite" with Martov and Dan, and call upon the workers to do so, that shows that you (unlike us) trust the recognised leaders of the ideological political trend known as the liquidators. Since you trust them and consider it possible to "unite" with them, admit it and advocate it, then *do* something; don't merely *talk* about it!

Either you call upon Dan and Martov (you trust them and they trust you) to disclose the source of the "rumours", investigate them yourselves, and then publicly declare to the working class: We vouch for the fact that this is not the silly scandal of gossips, or the spiteful insinuations of angry liquidators, but *weighty and serious* evidence. When you do that and prove that the moment these rumours arose, the liquidationist, Plekhanovist, and other leading bodies examined them and immediately informed the Pravdist leading body, we shall answer: Gentlemen, we are convinced that you are mistaken and we shall prove that to you, but we admit that you have behaved like honest democrats.

Or else, you—leaders of "trends" and groups which call upon the workers to unite with the liquidators—hide behind the backs of Dan and Martov, allow them to utter as much slander as they please, refrain from calling upon them to disclose their sources, and do not take the trouble (*and the political responsibility*) to verify the truth of the rumours.

In that case we shall openly declare to the workers: Comrades, don't you see that all these group leaders are *aiding* and *abetting* these filthy slanderers?

We shall see what the workers will decide.

For the sake of illustration, we shall take a concrete case. When the leading body, which is recognised by four-fifths

of the class-conscious workers of Russia, declared that it had investigated the rumours and was absolutely convinced that they were utterly absurd (if not worse), *two* groups made statements in the press: (1) the group of Chkheidze, Chkhenkeli, Skobelev, Khaustov, Tulyakov, Mankov and Jagiello; (2) the August bloc people, i.e., the leading August body of the liquidators.

What did they say?

Only that they *had taken no part* in the investigation into the rumours conducted by the leading body of the Pravdists! That is all they said!

Let us consider this case.

Let us suppose, firstly, that instead of the group of Chkheidze and Co. we have honest democrats before us. Let us assume that these people had elected Malinovsky as the vice-chairman of *their* Duma group. Suddenly, rumours appear in the press, in the organ for which they are politically responsible, to the effect that Malinovsky is an agent provocateur!

Can there possibly be two opinions about what the elementary and bounden duty of all honest democrats should be under such circumstances?

Their duty should be immediately to appoint a committee from their own ranks or anybody else they please, immediately to investigate the source of these rumours, those who have spread them and when they did so, ascertain the *authenticity* and grounds of these rumours, and then declare publicly, straightforwardly and honestly to the working class: Comrades, we have worked, *we have investigated* and we vouch for the fact that this is a serious matter.

That is what honest democrats would do. But to say nothing, to refrain from any investigation, and to continue to bear responsibility for a press organ that spreads insidious rumours means sinking to the lowest depths of meanness and baseness, means behaving in a manner unworthy of an honest citizen.

Secondly, let us assume that instead of Chkheidze and Co. we have before us aiders and abettors of filthy slander, who *either heard* these insidious rumours from Martov or his friends but never thought of taking them seriously (for who among those that have anything to do with Social-

Democratic activity has not, scores of times, heard patently absurd "rumours" it would be ridiculous to pay attention to?) or who heard nothing at all, but, knowing the Dan and Martov "style", preferred not to "get mixed up in such a complicated and troublesome business"[201] for fear of besmirching and disgracing themselves for the rest of their lives by openly expressing belief in the truth of the rumours spread in the press by Martov and Dan, but at the same time desired *surreptitiously* to shield the latter.

People like the ones we have taken in our second assumption *would behave precisely in the way Chkheidze and Co. did.*

The same applies fully to the August bloc men.

Let the workers themselves choose one of these two assumptions; let them examine and ponder over the conduct of Chkheidze and Co.

Now let us examine Plekhanov's behaviour. In issue No. 2 of *Yedinstvo* he describes the liquidators' articles on Malinovsky as "outrageous" and "disgusting", but he adds, obviously as a reproach to the Pravdists: this is the fruit of *your* splitting tactics. "It's no use crying over spilt milk!"

How is this behaviour of Plekhanov's to be interpreted?

If, despite the plain statement by Dan and Martov that they regarded these rumours as true and authentic (otherwise they would not have demanded an investigation), Plekhanov describes the liquidators' articles as outrageous and disgusting, it shows that he does not in the least trust Dan and Martov! It shows that he, *too*, regards them as filthy slanderers!

If that were not the case, what reasonable grounds would there have been for publicly describing as "disgusting", articles written by people who desire (as they claim) to promote the cause of democracy and of the proletariat by exposing a grave and frightful evil, namely, agents provocateurs?

But if Plekhanov does not believe a single word of Martov's and Dan's, if he regards them as filthy slanderers, how can he blame *us* Pravdists for the methods of struggle employed by the liquidators who have been expelled from the Party! *How* can he write: "It's no use crying over spilt milk." This can only mean that he *justifies* Dan and Martov *on the grounds of the* "*split*"!

That is monstrous, but it is a fact.

Plekhanov *justifies* filthy slanderers, whom he himself does not trust in the least, on the grounds that the Pravdists are to blame for having expelled these slanderers from the Party.

This behaviour of Plekhanov's (as he has already been told publicly by a "group of Marxists" who were ready to believe him, but were soon disillusioned in him) is a diplomatic defence of blackmailers, i.e.; a defence prompted by narrow circle diplomacy, which is objectively tantamount to encouraging the blackmailers to continue with their blackmailing.

Since we—Martov and Dan must be arguing—succeeded at once in getting the "anti-liquidationist" Plekhanov, who does not trust us, to *blame* the Pravdists, even indirectly, even partly, for driving us into this desperate struggle by their "split", why ... why, let's carry on! Let's continue on the same lines. Plekhanov *encourages* us to hope that we *shall obtain concessions* as a reward for our blackmail!*

The workers straightaway saw through Plekhanov's narrow circle diplomacy. This was proved by the opinion the Moscow workers expressed about issue No. 1 of *Yedinstvo*, and by the reply of the "group of Marxists" who were inclined to trust Plekhanov but later called him a "diplomat".[202] Before very long Plekhanov's narrow circle diplomacy will be utterly exposed.

In January 1912, representatives of the workers publicly and officially expelled from the Party a definite group of liquidators headed by Martov and Dan. Since then, in the course of two-and-a-half years, the workers of Russia have

* The reader will find that Trotsky engages in the same defence of blackmail as Plekhanov does, only in a more covert and cowardly form. In issue No. 6 of *Borba*, he, a *contributor* to *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, does not utter a word in condemnation of the "campaign" conducted by Dan and Martov, but accuses the Pravdists of sowing "the poisonous seeds of hatred and splitting" (p. 44)! Thus, not slander, oh, no, but carrying out the Party's decision concerning those who are vehicles of bourgeois influence and who hurl abuse at the "underground" must be regarded as "poison". Very well, we shall place this on record.

approved of this decision by a four-fifths majority, and adopted it as *their own*. The blackmail and slander of Martov and Dan will not induce the workers to "make concessions", but will convince them more firmly than ever that only *without* the liquidators and *against* them is it possible to build up the workers' "entire Marxist body", four-fifths of which has already been built.

Everybody is now talking about the growth of the Russian workers' political consciousness, about the fact that they themselves are now handling all affairs connected with the workers' party, and their greater maturity and independence after the revolution. Trotsky and Plekhanov also appeal to the workers against "intellectuals' circles" or the "factionalism of the intellectuals". But—and this is a remarkable circumstance!—as soon as mention is made of the *objective* facts showing which political trend the *present-day* class-conscious workers of Russia choose, approve of and create, Plekhanov, Trotsky and the liquidators all change their ground and shout: These workers, the Pravdist workers, who form the majority of the class-conscious workers in Russia, follow the lead of Pravdism only because they are "bewildered" (*Borba* No. 1, p. 6), are only "*being swayed*" by "demagogy", or factionalism, etc., etc.

It follows, therefore, that the liquidators, Plekhanov, and Trotsky recognise the will of the majority of the class-conscious workers, *not* in the present, but in the future, only in the future event of the workers agreeing with them, with the liquidators, Plekhanov, and Trotsky!

What amusing subjectivism! What an amusing dread of objective facts! But if we are not to engage simply in mutual recriminations, accusing each other of intellectualist parochialism, we must take the *present* facts, the *objective* facts.

The political education of the workers, which everybody admits is making progress, is another thing which our conciliators, Plekhanov, Trotsky and Co., talk about with amusing subjectivism. Plekhanov and Trotsky are *wavering* between the two contending trends in the Social-Democratic class movement and are ascribing to the workers their own

subjective vacillations, saying: The fact that the workers participate in this conflict of trends is evidence of their ignorance; when they become more enlightened they will stop fighting, will cease to be "factional" (Plekhanov, like Trotsky, repeats "by force of habit" parrot-phrases such as "factionalism", although the Pravdists put an end to "factionalism" in January 1912, i.e., two-and-a-half years ago, by straightforwardly and openly expelling the liquidators).

The subjectivism of this appraisal of the situation by Plekhanov and Trotsky is most glaring. Turn to history—after all, there is no harm in a Marxist turning to the history of the movement!—and you will find a story of *nearly twenty years*' struggle against the bourgeois trends of Economism (1895-1902), Menshevism (1903-08) and liquidationism (1908-14). There can be no doubt whatever about the unbroken connection and continuity between these three varieties of "bourgeois influence on the proletariat". It is a historical fact that the advanced workers of Russia participated in this struggle and sided with the Iskrists against the Economists, with the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks (as Levitsky *himself* was compelled to admit by the weight of objective facts), and lastly, with Pravdism against liquidationism.

The question arises: Does not this historical fact concerning the *mass* Social-Democratic workers' movement point to something more important than the subjective and pious wishes of Plekhanov and Trotsky, who for the last ten years have been giving themselves credit for their failure to fall into step with the mass Social-Democratic workers' trend?

The objective facts of the present period, taken from both sources—the liquidationist and Pravdist—as well as the history of the last twenty years, abundantly prove that the struggle against liquidationism and the victory achieved over it is *precisely* the result of the political education of the Russian workers and of the formation of a *genuine* workers' party which does *not* yield to petty-bourgeois influences in a petty-bourgeois country.

Plekhanov and Trotsky, who offer the workers their subjective pious wishes for the avoidance of conflict (wishes which ignore both history and the mass trends among the Social-Democrats), look upon the political education of the

workers from the point of view of copy-book maxims. History has existed up to now, but now it has ceased to exist—as Marx wittily retorted in his criticism of Proudhon.[203] Up to now, for twenty years, the workers have received their political education solely in the course of the struggle against the bourgeois trend of Economism and against the later varieties of a similar trend, but now, after a couple of "copy-book" maxims about the harmfulness of conflicts, maxims served up by Plekhanov and Trotsky, history will cease, the mass roots of liquidationism (which owe their mass character to the support of the bourgeoisie) will vanish, mass Pravdism (which became a mass movement solely as a result of the "bewilderment" of the workers!) will vanish, and something "real" will arise.... The reasoning followed by Plekhanov and Trotsky is truly amusing!

The workers can obtain real political education only in the course of a sustained, consistent, all-out struggle of proletarian influences, aspirations and trends against bourgeois influences, aspirations and trends. Not *even* Trotsky will deny that liquidationism like the Economism of 1895-1902) is a manifestation of bourgeois influence on the proletariat; as for Plekhanov, he *himself*, in the long-distant past, fully a year-and-a-half or two-and-a-half years ago, defended the Party decision which established this truth.

But nowhere in the world have bourgeois influences on the workers ever taken the form of ideological influences alone. When the bourgeoisie's ideological influence on the workers declines, is undermined or weakened, the bourgeoisie *everywhere and always* resorts to the most outrageous lies and slander. And every time that Martov and Dan flouted the will of the majority of organised Marxists, every time they lacked the weapon of the ideological struggle, they resorted to the weapon of insinuation and slander.

Till now, however, they have done this in conditions of exile abroad, before a relatively limited "audience", and often got away with it. But this time they have come out before tens of thousands of Russian workers and have immediately pulled up short. The "trick" of emigrants' gossip and slander has missed fire. The workers have already proved politically educated enough to see at once the insincerity, the dishonesty of the utterances of Martov and Dan *from the very*

character of these utterances, and they have denounced them publicly, before the whole of Russia, as slanderers.

The advanced workers of Russia have taken another step forward along the road of political education by *knocking out* of the hands of one bourgeois group (the liquidators) the weapon of slander.

Neither the bourgeois alliance between Plekhanov and Trotsky, the liquidationist leaders, and the Narodniks, nor the efforts of the liberal press to proclaim it the duty of "honest" people to secure unity between the workers and those who want to liquidate the workers' party, nor the campaign of slander conducted by Martov and Dan will check the growth and development of proletarian solidarity with the ideas, programme, tactics and organisation of Pravdism.

Prosveshcheniye No. 6,
June 1914
Signed: *V. Ilyin*

Published according to
the text in *Prosveshcheniye*

THE VPERYODISTS AND THE *VPERYOD* GROUP

The St. Petersburg liquidators' newspaper has published an article by A. Bogdanov containing the sharpest accusations against *Pravda* and Pravdism. The journal run by Trotsky, who yesterday was the close friend of the liquidators and today has half deserted them, has now published a letter (No. 4, p. 56) from the Paris and Geneva circles of the *Vperyod* ideological and Marxist group.

In Russia only a single group—in the Caucasus—has come out in defence of this Paris-Geneva group, which has been in existence since 1909, i.e., for about five years. In view of this, it would seem a waste of time to add anything to the explanations already given in *Put Pravdy*.*

However, the persistence of the liquidators and their quondam friend Trotsky in defending the *Vperyod* group impels us to reply to them once again, the more so that the accumulating evidence of an actual alliance between the liquidators, Trotsky and the *Vperyod* people affords an opportunity of explaining to the workers in Russia the political significance of this alliance from the standpoint of principle.

The *Vperyod* group broke away from the Bolsheviks abroad in 1909. At the end of that year it issued a pamphlet entitled: *The Present Moment and the Tasks of the Party*, in which the "platform" of this group was expounded.

> "In the work of drafting this platform," we read on page 32 of this pamphlet, "fifteen Party members participated, of whom seven were workers and eight intellectuals. The major part of the platform was adopted unanimously. Only on the question of the Duma did three abstain (two otzovists and one 'anti-boycottist')."

This platform (p. 17 and others) defended "proletarian philosophy".

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* See pp. 121-24 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Of the names of Vperyodists whom the latter themselves have mentioned in the press, we shall mention the following: N. Maximov, Voinov, Alexinsky, Lunacharsky, Lyadov, S. A. Volsky, Domov and A. Bogdanov.[204]

What has become of these Vperyodists?

N. Maximov has left the *Vperyod* group.

Voinov and Alexinsky remained in the group, but later fell out with each other and now belong to *two* different *Vperyod* groups. This was officially announced in Paris.

A. Lunacharsky has fallen out with Alexinsky.

Lyadov has evidently left the group; nothing is known of his attitude towards the new split in the *Vperyod* group.

S. A. Volsky has gone over to the Left Narodniks, judging from his regular contributions to the latter's publications (see *Zavety*).

Domov published, in *Vperyod* No. 3 (May 1911), a statement that "he was no longer taking any part whatever in the publications of the *Vperyod* group" (p. 78).

A. Bogdanov has announced in the press that he has left the *Vperyod* group.

Such are the facts.

And now compare these facts with the statement of the Paris and Geneva Vperyodists published by Trotsky:

> "The assertion by *Put Pravdy* that, from the moment it came into being, the *Vperyod* group consisted of heterogeneous anti-Marxist elements loosely stuck together, and fell to pieces with the revival of the working-class movement, does not correspond to the facts."

The reader will see from this that the Vperyodists' statement published by Trotsky, who is perfectly familiar with all the names we have mentioned and with the entire history of the *Vperyod* group, which he has assisted on more than one occasion, is an outrageous and glaring-falsehood, and that what *Put Pravdy* said was the absolute truth.

We shall also recall the following fact. *Sovremenny Mir*, in 1910 or 1911 I think, published a review by G. A. Alexinsky of a book by A. A. Bogdanov, in which the latter was referred to as a "gentleman" who had nothing in common with Marxism.

How is this to be explained?

It is to be explained by the fact that the Vperyodists were really a group of heterogeneous, anti-Marxist elements,

loosely stuck together. As regards ideological trend, there were *two* such elements there, Machism and otzovism, which, incidentally, is evident from the passages quoted above.

Machism is the philosophy of Mach and Avenarius, modified by Bogdanov. It is advocated by Bogdanov, Lunacharsky and Volsky, and *is concealed* in the *Vperyod* platform under the pseudonym of "proletarian philosophy". In effect, this philosophy is a species of philosophical idealism, i.e., a subtle defence of religion, and it was no accident that Lunacharsky has slipped from this philosophy into advocating a blending of scientific socialism with religion. Even today, A. Bogdanov, in a number of "new" books, defends this utterly anti-Marxist and utterly reactionary philosophy, which both the Menshevik G. V. Plekhanov and the Bolshevik V. Ilyin[205] have strongly opposed.

We now ask all and sundry whether the liquidators A. Bogdanov, Trotsky and the Paris-Geneva Vperyodists acted honestly when, in publishing statements by *Vperyod* and about *Vperyod*, they *concealed* from the Russian workers:

1) the fact that the *Vperyod* group itself included "proletarian philosophy", i.e., "Machism", in its platform;

2) the fact that Marxists belonging to different groups waged a long and persistent struggle against "Machism" as an out-and-out reactionary philosophy;

3) the fact that even Alexinsky, that ardent Vperyodist, who signed this platform jointly with the Machists, was some time later compelled to protest in the sharpest possible terms against Machism.

We shall now deal with otzovism.

We have seen above that the otzovists belonged to the *Vperyod* group. This group's platform—as was pointed out immediately it appeared in the press abroad—contained a veiled form of otzovism and unpardonable concessions to it, for example, in point d), on p. 16 of the platform, where it says that (for a certain period)

> "none of the semi-legal and legal ways and means of struggle of the working class, including participation in the Duma, can be of independent and decisive importance".

This is the same old otzovism, only veiled, vague and confused. Both the Party Bolsheviks, i.e., those opposed

to liquidationism, and the pro-Party Mensheviks have repeatedly explained that such a platform is unacceptable to Social-Democrats, that it is a defence of otzovism, utterly fallacious and most harmful.

The otzovists were opposed to going into the Third Duma, but events clearly showed that they were mistaken, and that, *in fact*, their point of view led to anarchism.

The veiled and modified defence of otzovism that we have quoted could not, *in practice*, have resulted in the line which *Pravda* successfully pursued, and which led the Pravdists to victory over the disruptors of the Party, the liquidators, in the vast majority of the legal and ultra-legal working-class organisations.

That is why, when the Vperyodists to this day talk of "uncurtailed Left Marxism", it is our duty to speak up and warn the workers; it is our duty to declare that these fine words contain an anti-Marxist doctrine which will cause immense harm to the working-class movement, and is absolutely incompatible with the latter.

This Vperyodist species of "uncurtailed Left Marxism" is a travesty of Bolshevism, as the Bolsheviks said and proved long back, over five years ago. Even if the Vperyodists have failed to realise it, we virtually have here a deviation from Marxism towards anarchism.

The Plenum of January 1910—the very Plenum which the Vperyodists refer to in Trotsky's journal as having endorsed their group—*unanimously condemned this deviation* as being just as harmful as the liquidators' deviation. Throughout 1910 the leading bodies set up by the Plenum to carry out its decisions, for example, the Editorial Board of the Central Organ,[206] *repeatedly* and at great length pointed out in the columns of their publications that the Vperyodists, like the liquidators, were *violating* the decisions of the Plenum, and that, like the liquidators, they were in fact v*ehicles of bourgeois influence on the proletariat*.

Since, in Trotsky's journal, the Vperyodists now refer to the "first and second *Vperyod* schools", we feel bound to recall the facts. Half the workers *left* the first school because experience had convinced them of its anti-Marxist and disruptive character. As regards the second school, the Central Organ, in pursuance of the decisions of the Plenum,

made a point of warning the workers against it and explained that it bore the character just mentioned.

But who helped this second school?

Only the liquidators and Trotsky, *notwithstanding* the official warning given by the Party's official organ.

In this second school we plainly see a bloc, an alliance, between the liquidators, the Vperyodists and Trotsky's group exactly like the one we now see in the columns of the St. Petersburg liquidationist newspaper and in Trotsky's *Borba*.

This is an alliance of anti-Marxist and disruptive groups, which detest *Pravda*'s Marxism and the comradely Party discipline which rallies the vast majority of the class-conscious workers of Russia around *Pravda*.

We *cannot but* call "adventurism" this alliance, like the *Vperyod* group itself, and Vperyodism as a whole, for nothing can come of Vperyodism and of its "bloc" with Trotsky and the liquidators except disregard of principles, the encouragement of anti-Marxist ideas (without openly preaching them), and the disruption of the working-class movement.

But while being basically and unswervingly opposed to *Vperyod* and Vperyodism, we have never, and never shall, shut the door against those Vperyodists who (like the majority of the founders of *Vperyod*) are leaving that group and intend to help the majority of Russia's class-conscious workers, organised and united by Pravdism. No leniency whatever must be shown towards the defence of Machism (from which, unfortunately, Bogdanov won't budge), or of Vperyodism; but no obstacles should be put in the way of comrades who have conscientiously recognised *Vperyod*'s mistake and are turning *from Vperyod* back to the Party.

As regards the attacks and abuse to which "those writers Ilyin, Zinoviev and Kamenev" are subjected by Bogdanov in the liquidators' newspaper and by the Vperyodists in Trotsky's journal, we shall state briefly that these writers have always carried out the *decisions* of the organised Marxist workers, who have demonstrated to all the world by their solidarity with Pravdism or by their votes in the election of the Metropolitan and All-Russia Insurance Boards, that they constitute the overwhelming majority of the organised and class-conscious workers of Russia.

Acting in accordance with these decisions and in keeping with their spirit, these writers have every reason to consider that their activities are in harmony with the will of the majority of the Marxist workers, and they will not of course be deterred from their activities by abuse coming from the Vperyodists, Trotsky and the liquidators.

The history of the *Vperyod* group, of its break-up, and its repeated blocs with Trotsky and the liquidators, is a matter of some general interest to the workers, and even of some public interest, for it represents a typical case of isolated groups of intellectuals being formed in the period of break-down and disintegration. Anybody is at liberty to form a separate ideological group and to point out a different road to the proletariat, but much will be expected of any founder of a new group. It goes without saying that nobody can be blamed for making mistakes, but to *persist* in mistakes that have been explained both by the theory and the practice of a movement of over five years is tantamount to waging war against Marxism, against the organised and united majority of the workers.

The vacillations and deviations of the liquidators and Vperyodists are no accident; they have been engendered by the period of break-down and disintegration. We see these bourgeois deviations on both sides of the road of the class struggle of the Marxist workers, and these serve as a warning to every class-conscious worker.

P.S. The above lines were already written when we received a copy of Trotsky's *Borba* containing another letter from "the Geneva, Paris and Tiflis *Vperyod* Marxist circles and from St. Petersburg fellow-thinkers".

From the signatures to this letter we see that during these four and a half years the Vperyodists, who issued "*their own*" platform at the very end of 1909, have acquired in Russia *one* "Tiflis circle" and probably *two* "St. Petersburg fellow-thinkers" (three would no doubt have constituted a St. Petersburg, or metropolitan, or all-Russia, Marxist ideological circle!). To anyone more or less seriously interested in politics, this result of *Vperyod*'s four years of "activity" should suffice to serve as a criterion of this group. Let

Trotsky amuse himself by uniting with it in the columns of his "*own*" sheet; let the Vperyodists and Trotskyists play at being "powers", "trends", and contracting parties. This is simply the childish make-believe of people who, by uttering pompous phrases, want to conceal the fact that their "groups" are mere bubbles.

It is amusing to read how these groups vociferate about unity and splits! Don't you understand, gentlemen, that there can only be a question of the unity of the mass working-class movement, the unity of the workers party; as for unity with groups of intellectuals, who in the course of four years have found no support among the workers of Russia, you and Trotsky can chatter to your heart's content about that! That is not worth arguing about.

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Signed: *V. Ilyin*

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the text in *Prosveshcheniye*

EDITORIAL COMMENT ON OCKSEN LOLA'S "APPEAL TO THE UKRAINIAN WORKERS" [207]

We have much pleasure in publishing the appeal of our comrade, a Ukrainian Marxist, to the Ukrainian class-conscious workers. Unity irrespective of nation. This call is particularly urgent in Russia at the present time. The petty-bourgeois intellectuals of Dzvin, the workers' evil counsellors, are trying as hard as they can to drive a wedge between the Ukrainian and the Great-Russian Social-Democratic workers. *Dzvin* is serving the cause of the nationalist petty bourgeoisie.

We shall, however, serve the cause of the international-workers: we shall rally, unite and merge the workers of all nations for united and joint activities.

Long live the close fraternal alliance of the workers of the Ukrainian, Great-Russian and all other nations of Russia!

Trudovaya Pravda No. 28,
June 29, 1914

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the text in *Trudovaya Pravda*

REPORT OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TO THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE AND INSTRUCTIONS TO THE C.C. DELEGATION[208]

Written June 23-30 (July 6-13), 1914

Published according to the manuscript

First published in 1929 in the second and third editions of Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. XVII

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Before proceeding to the report on behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, I shall first of all take this opportunity of performing a pleasant duty, and on behalf of that body express profound thanks to Comrade Vandervelde, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau, for visiting our country and making himself personally acquainted with the leaders of the working-class movement in St. Petersburg. We are particularly grateful to Comrade Vandervelde for being the first to establish direct contact between prominent members of the International and the class-conscious and leading workers of Russia, and also for publishing in the foreign socialist press (we have in mind *Le Peuple* and *l'Humanité*) objective data on the working-class movement in Russia, data collected on the spot from the editors of the newspapers of the three trends, namely the Pravdist (i.e., our Party), the liquidationist and the Socialist-Revolutionary trends.

I shall divide my report on the question of the unity of the Russian Social-Democratic movement into the following four parts: (1) first, I shall explain the gist of the main differences among the Social-Democrats; (2) I shall then quote data concerning the mass working-class movement in Russia, showing how our Party line has been *tested by the experience of this movement*; (3) I shall explain how the line and position of our opponents have been tested by the same experience. Fourth and last, I shall formulate, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, concrete, positive and *practical* proposals for unity.

I

There are two bodies of opinion on what is at present taking place in the Russian Social-Democratic movement.

One opinion, expounded by Rosa Luxemburg in the proposal she made to the International Socialist Bureau last year (December 1913) and shared by the liquidators and the groups which support them, is as follows: in Russia the "chaos" of factional strife reigns among a multitude of factions, the worst of which, namely, the Leninist faction, is most active in fomenting a split. Actually, the differences do not preclude the possibility of joint activities. The road to unity lies through agreement or compromise among all trends and groups.

The other opinion, which we hold, is that there is nothing resembling "chaos of factional strife" in Russia. The *only* thing we have there is a struggle against the liquidators, and it is *only* in the course of this struggle that a *genuinely* workers' Social-Democratic Party is being built up, which has already united the *overwhelming majority*—four-fifths—of the class-conscious workers of Russia. The illegal Party, in which the majority of the workers of Russia are organised, has been represented by the following conferences: the January Conference of 1912, the February Conference of 1913, and the Summer Conference of 1913. The legal organ of the Party is the newspaper *Pravda* (*Vérité*), hence the name Pravdist. Incidentally, this opinion was expressed by the St. Petersburg worker who, at a banquet in St. Petersburg which Comrade Vandervelde attended, stated that the workers in the factories of St. Petersburg are united, and that outside of this unity of the workers there are only "general staffs without armies".

In the second part of my report I shall deal with the objective data which prove that ours is the correct opinion. And now I shall deal with the substance of liquidationism.

The liquidationist groups were formally expelled from the Party at the R.S.D.L.P. Conference in January 1912, but the question of liquidationism was raised by our Party much earlier. A definite official resolution, binding upon the whole Party and unreservedly condemning liquidationism, was adopted by the All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. held as far back as December *1908*. In this resolution liquidationism is defined as follows:

(Liquidationism is) "an attempt on the part of some of the Party intelligentsia to liquidate the existing organisa-

tion of the R.S.D.L.P. and to substitute for it an amorphous federation acting at all cost within the limits of legality, even at the cost of openly abandoning the programme, tactics and traditions of the Party".

From this it is evident that as far back as *1908* liquidationism was officially declared and recognised as an *intellectualist* trend, and that in substance it stood for the *renunciation* of the illegal Party and the *substitution*, or advocacy of the substitution, of a legal party for it.

The Central Committee's plenary meeting held in January *1910* once again *unanimously* condemned liquidationism as "*a manifestation of the influence of the bourgeoisie on the proletariat*".

From this we see how mistaken is the opinion that our differences with the liquidators are no deeper and are less important than those between the so-called radicals and moderates in Western Europe. There is not a single—literally not a single—West-European party that has ever had occasion to adopt a general party decision against people who desired to *dissolve* the party and to *substitute* a new one for it!

Nowhere in Western Europe has there ever been, nor can there ever be, a question of whether it is permissible to bear the title of party member *and at the same time* advocate the dissolution of that party, to argue that the party is useless and unnecessary, and that another party be substituted for it. Nowhere in Western Europe does the question concern the very *existence* of the party as it does with us, i.e., whether that party is t*o be or not to be*.

This is not disagreement over a question of organisation, of *how* the party should be built, but disagreement concerning the very *existence* of the party. Here, conciliation, agreement and compromise are totally out of the question.

We could not have built up our Party (to the extent of four-fifths) and cannot continue to build it otherwise than by relentlessly fighting those publicists who in the legal press fight against the "underground" (i.e., the illegal Party), declare it to be an "*evil*", justify and eulogise desertion from it, and advocate the formation of an "open party".

In present-day Russia, where even the party of the extremely moderate liberal is not legal, our Party can exist only

as an illegal party. The exceptional and unique feature of our position, which somewhat resembles that of the German Social-Democrats under the Anti-Socialist Law[209] (although, even then, the Germans enjoyed a hundred times more legality than we do in Russia), is that our illegal Social-Democratic Labour Party consists of *illegal* workers' organisations (often called "cells") which are surrounded by a more or less dense network of *legal* workers' associations (such as sick insurance societies, trade unions, educational associations, athletic clubs, temperance societies, and so forth), Most of these legal associations exist in the metropolis; in many parts of the provinces there are none at all.

Some of the illegal organisations are fairly large, others are quite small and in some cases they consist only of "trusted agents".[210]

The legal associations serve to some extent as a *screen* for the illegal organisations and for the extensive, legal advocacy of the idea of working-class solidarity among the masses. Nation-wide contacts between the leading working class organisations, the maintenance of a centre (the Central Committee) and the passing of precise Party resolutions on all questions—all these are of course carried out quite illegally and call for the utmost secrecy and trustworthiness on the part of advanced and tested workers.

To come out in the legal press *against* the "underground" or in favour of an "open party" is simply to *disrupt* our Party, and we must regard the people who do this as *bitter enemies* of our Party.

Naturally, repudiation of the "underground" goes hand in hand with repudiation of revolutionary tactics and advocacy of reformism. Russia is passing through a period of bourgeois revolutions. In Russia even the most moderate bourgeois—the Cadets and Octobrists—are decidedly dissatisfied with the government. But they are all enemies of revolution and detest us for "demagogy", for striving again to lead the masses to the barricades as we did in 1905. They are all bourgeois who advocate only "reforms" and spread among the masses the highly pernicious idea that reform is *compatible* with the present tsarist monarchy.

Our tactics are different. We make use of every reform (insurance, for example) and of every legal society. But we

use them to develop the revolutionary consciousness and the revolutionary struggle of the masses. In Russia, where political freedom to this day does not exist, these words have far more direct implications for us than they have in Europe. Our Party conducts *revolutionary strikes*, which in Russia are growing as in no other country in the world. Take, for example, the month of May alone. In May 1912, 64,000 and in May 1914, 99,000 workers were involved in economic strikes.

The number involved in political strikes was: 364,000 in 1912 and 647,000 in 1914. The combination of political and economic struggle produces the revolutionary strike, which, by rousing the peasant millions, trains them for revolution. Our Party conducts campaigns of *revolutionary meetings* and *revolutionary street demonstrations*. For this purpose our Party distributes *revolutionary leaflets* and an *illegal newspaper*, the Party's Central Organ. The ideological unification of all these propaganda and agitation activities among the masses is achieved by the slogans adopted by the supreme bodies of our Party, namely: (1) an eight-hour day; (2) confiscation of the landed estates, and (3) a democratic republic. In the present situation in Russia, where absolute tyranny and despotism prevail and where all laws are suppressed by the tsarist monarchy, *only* these slogans can effectually unite and direct the entire propaganda and agitation of the Party aimed at effectually sustaining the revolutionary working-class movement.

It amuses us to hear the liquidators say, for example, that we are opposed to "freedom of association", for we not only emphasised the importance of this point of our programme in a special resolution adopted by the January Conference of 1912, but we made ten times more effective use of the curtailed right of association (the insurance societies, for example) than the liquidators did. But when people tell us in the legal press that the slogans of confiscation of the land and of a republic cannot serve as subjects for agitation among the masses, we say that there can be no question of our Party's unity with *such* people, and such a group of publicists.

Since the purpose of this first part of my report is to explain the *gist* of our differences, I shall say no more on this

point, except to remind you that the fourth part of my report will contain practical proposals, with an exact list of all the cases where the liquidators have departed from our Party's programme and decisions.

I shall not here go into the details of the history of the liquidators' *breakaway* from our illegal Party, the R.S.D.L.P., but will merely indicate the *three* main periods of this history.

First period: from the autumn of 1908 to January 1910. The Party combated liquidationism with the aid of precise, official, Party decisions condemning it.

Second period: from January 1910 to January 1912. The liquidators *hindered* the work of restoring the Central Committee of the Party; they disrupted the Central Committee of the Party and *dismissed* the last remnants of it, namely, the Technical Commission of the *Bureau* Abroad of the Central Committee.[211] The Party committees *in Russia* then (autumn 1911) set up the Russian Organising Commission[212] for the purpose of restoring the Party. That Commission convened the January Conference of 1912. The Conference restored the Party, elected a Central Committee and expelled the liquidationist group from the Party.

Third period: from January 1912 to the present time. The specific feature of this period is that a majority of four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia have rallied around the decisions and bodies created by the January Conference of 1912.

I now come to the second part of my report, in which I shall describe the present state of our Party and of the liquidators in the light of the mass working-class movement in Russia. I shall try to answer the question: does the *experience of the mass movement* confirm the correctness of our Party's line or of the liquidators' line?

II

On April 22, 1912 (old style) the working-class daily, *Pravda*, began to appear in Russia, *thanks to* the restoration of the Party at the January Conference of 1912; this newspaper is pursuing the line (often by hints and always in a curtailed form) laid down by that Conference.

Obviously, we never mention in *any organ of the press* the illegal connection that exists between the Party's illegal Conference of January 1912 and the Central Committee it set up, on the one hand, and the legal newspaper *Pravda*, on the other. In September 1912, the rival newspaper of the liquidators, *Luch*, now called *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, began to appear. Then, in the autumn of 1912, the Fourth Duma elections took place. In 1913, a new insurance law came into force in Russia, establishing sick funds for the workers. Lastly, the legal trade unions, relentlessly persecuted by the government and repeatedly suppressed, were, nevertheless, constantly revived.

It is not difficult to understand that all these manifestations of the *mass* working-class movement—especially the daily newspapers of the *two* trends—provide a vast amount of public, verifiable, and *objective* data. We deem it our duty to the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau emphatically to protest against the habit of the liquidators and their defenders abroad of making unsubstantiated statements, assurances and declamations, while *ignoring* the objective facts of the mass working-class movement in Russia.

It is these facts that have definitely strengthened us in our conviction that the line we are pursuing is the right one.

In January 1912 the Conference of the R.S.D.L.P., which restored the illegal Party, was held. The liquidators and the groups abroad (including Plekhanov) greeted it with abuse. But what about the workers in Russia?

The answer to this question was provided by the Fourth Duma elections.

These elections were held in the autumn of 1912. Whereas in the Third Duma *50 per cent* (four out of eight) of the deputies elected by the worker curia belonged to our trend, in the Fourth Duma six out of nine, i.e., *67 per cent*, of the deputies elected by the worker curia were supporters of the Party. This proves that the masses of the workers sided with the Party and rejected liquidationism. If the six members of the Duma, who incline towards liquidationism, now really desire unity with the *Party* group in the Duma, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group, then we are

obliged to say that recognition of the fact that these deputies are carrying out the will of the majority of the workers is the condition for unity.

To proceed. Daily newspapers are extremely important media of working-class *organisation*. They contain a vast amount of material proving this, i.e., the figures showing *the number of contributions received from workers' groups*. Both newspapers, the Pravdist (i.e., the Party) and the liquidationist, publish reports of financial contributions received from workers' groups. These reports are, for Russia, the best conceivable index—public and legal—of the actual state of *organisation* of the masses of the workers.

In Western Europe, where the socialist parties are legal, the number of party members is known to everybody, and discussions concerning the organised working-class movement are always based on these figures.

In Russia we have no open, i.e., legal party. The Party's organisations are illegal, secret, "underground", as we say. But an *indirect*—and also unerring—index of the state of these organisations is provided by the *number of financial contributions received from workers' groups*.

These figures have been published openly and regularly in both newspapers—for over two years in ours and over eighteen months in the liquidators'—and if any false claim or mistake were made it would immediately have called forth a protest on the part of the workers themselves. Consequently, these figures are absolutely reliable and are the best public and legal index of the state of organisation of the masses of the workers.

Our liquidators, and the groups abroad which defend them, persistently ignore these figures, and say nothing about them in their press; but our workers merely regard this as evidence of their desire to *flout the will of the majority of the workers*, as evidence of their lack of honesty.

Here are the figures for the *whole* of 1913. The Pravdists received 2,181 money contributions from workers' groups, while the liquidators received 661. In 1914 (up to May 13), the Pravdists had the support of 2,873 workers' groups, and the liquidators, of 671. Thus, the Pravdists organised 77 per cent of the workers' groups in 1913, and 81 per cent in 1914.

The Pravdists have been publishing these figures regularly since 1912, inviting investigation, pointing to their objective character, and calling upon the genuine (not hypocritical) friends of "unity" straightforwardly and honestly to submit to the will of the majority of the workers. *Failing this*, all their talk about unity is sheer hypocrisy.

After the liquidators had been fighting the Party for eighteen months, the class-conscious workers of Russia, by a four-fifths majority, *approved of* the *Pravda* line and demonstrated their loyalty to the "underground" and to revolutionary tactics. What we expect from the liquidators and their friends is not phrases about "unity" *against* the Party's will, but a straightforward answer to the question: do they or do they not accept the will of the vast majority of the class-conscious workers of Russia?

It is easy to give empty assurances, but it is very difficult to organise a genuine working-class newspaper that is really maintained by the workers. All the foreign comrades know this, and they are more experienced than we are. A real working-class newspaper, i.e., a newspaper that is really financed by the workers and which pursues the Party line, is a powerful instrument of organisation.

What do these figures show? These objective figures show that *Pravda* is a genuinely working-class newspaper, whereas the liquidationist newspaper, which repudiates the "underground", i.e., the Party, both in its ideas and in the sources from which it obtains its funds is, *in fact*, *a bourgeois* newspaper.

From January 1 to May 13, 1914, both newspapers, as usual, published reports of collections, and our newspaper published a summary of these reports. Here are the results, *Pravda* collected R. 21,584.11, of which R. 18,934.10 came from workers' groups. Thus, 87 per cent of the contributions came from organised workers and only 13 per cent from the bourgeoisie.

The liquidators collected R. 12,055.89, of which R. 5,296.12 came from workers' groups, i.e., only 44 per cent—*less than half*. The liquidators get *more than half* their funds from bourgeois sources.

Moreover, day in day out the entire liberal-bourgeois press eulogises the liquidators, *helps* them to flout the will

of the majority of the workers, and *encourages* them in their reformism and repudiation of the "underground".

The activities of the groups abroad are exemplified in the newspaper *Yedinstvo*, run by Comrade Plekhanov, deputy Buryanov, and others. I have before me three issues of this newspaper, the first for May 18 and the third for June 15 of this year. The reports in these issues show that somebody contributed 1000 rubles to the newspaper through Comrade Olgin, who lives abroad, while collections made abroad amounted to R.207.52. *Six* (six!) workers' groups contributed 60 rubles.

And this newspaper, which is supported by six workers' groups in Russia, calls upon the workers not to heed the Party's decisions, and calls it a "splitters'" Party! A Party which in the course of two-and-a-half years rallied *5,600* groups of workers around the definitely formulated decisions of the *three* illegal conferences of 1912 and 1913 is a "splitters'" Party; whereas Plekhanov's group, which united six workers' groups in Russia and collected 1,200 rubles abroad for the purpose of *thwarting* the will of the Russian workers, is a group which stands for "unity", if you please!

Plekhanov accuses others of being factionalists, as though making separate collections for a separate group, and calling upon the workers not to carry out the decisions adopted by a four-fifths majority, *is not* factionalism.

As for us, we say plainly that we regard the behaviour of Plekhanov's group as a model of *disruption*. Plekhanov's conduct is the same as though Mehring, in Germany, were to organise six workers' groups and, in an independent newspaper, call upon the German Social-Democrats to defy the party which had, let us assume, split away from the Poles.

Plekhanov and we speak in different tongues. We call the solidarity of four-fifths of the workers in Russia real unity, and not unity merely in word; and we call *disruption* the struggle conducted by groups abroad—financed with money collected abroad—against the majority of the Russian workers.

According to the figures Comrade Vandervelde obtained in St. Petersburg and made public in the press, *Pravda* has a circulation of 40,000, while the liquidationist newspaper has one of 16,000. *Pravda* is maintained by the workers and

pays its way, but the liquidationist newspaper is maintained by those whom our newspaper calls their *rich friends from among the bourgeoisie*.

We are submitting to the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau the financial reports published in both newspapers. To foreign comrades, who know what a serious business a working-class newspaper is, this will be far more convincing than assurances, promises, statements, and abuse of the Leninists.

We ask the liquidators: do they still choose to ignore the *objective fact* that their group's newspaper is *in effect a* bourgeois undertaking run for the purpose of advocating repudiation of the "underground" and of *flouting* the will of the majority of the class-conscious workers of Russia?

If they do, then all their talk about "unity" will continue to evoke derision from our workers.

Those who earnestly seek unity should sincerely admit that the entire liquidationist line is utterly fallacious, as has been proved by Party decisions commencing with 1908, as well as by the *experience* of the struggle waged by the *masses of the workers* during the past two-and-a-half years.

To proceed. Here are the objective figures concerning the election of workers' representatives to the insurance bodies. We reject as mere liberalism all talk about political, constitutional reforms in present-day tsarist Russia and will have nothing to do with it; but we take advantage of *real* reforms, such as insurance, *in deed* and not in word. The *entire* workers' group on the All-Russia Insurance Board consists of *Pravda supporters*, i.e., of workers who have condemned and rejected liquidationism. During the election to this All-Russia Insurance Board, 47 out of the 57 delegates, i.e., 82 per cent, were Pravdists. During the election of the Metropolitan, St. Petersburg, Insurance Board, 37 of the delegates were Pravdists and 7 were liquidators, the Pravdists constituting 84 per cent.

The same can be said about the trade unions. When they hear the talk of the Russian Social-Democrats abroad about the "chaos of factional strife" in Russia (indulged in by Rosa Luxemburg, Plekhanov, Trotsky, and others), our foreign comrades perhaps imagine that the trade union movement in our country is split up.

Nothing of the kind.

In Russia there are no duplicate unions. Both in St. Petersburg and in Moscow, the trade unions are *united*. The point is that in these unions the *Pravdists* completely *predominate*.

Not one of the thirteen trade unions in Moscow is liquidationist.

Of the twenty trade unions in St. Petersburg listed in our Workers' Calendar together with their membership, only the Draftsmen's, Druggist Employees' and Clerks' Unions, and half the members of the Printers' Union, are liquidationist. In all the other unions—Metalworkers', Textile Workers', Tailors', Woodworkers', Shop Assistants', and so forth—the Pravdists *completely* predominate.

And we say plainly: if the liquidators do not want drastically to change their tactics and put a stop to their disruptive struggle against the organised majority of the class-conscious workers in Russia, let them stop talking about "unity".

Every day *Pravda* commends the "*underground*", if only obliquely, and condemns those who repudiate it. And the workers follow the lead of *their Pravda*.

Here are figures on the illegal press published abroad. *After* the liquidators' August Conference in 1912, our Party, up to June 1914, put out *five* issues of an illegal leading political newspaper; the *liquidators—nil*; the Socialist-Revolutionaries—*nine*. These figures do not include leaflets issued in Russia for revolutionary agitation during strikes, meetings and demonstrations.

In these five issues you will find mention of *44* illegal organisations of our Party; the liquidators—*nil*; the Socialist-Revolutionaries—*21* (mainly students' and peasants).

Lastly, in October 1913, an independent Russian Social-Democratic Labour group was formed in the Duma, the aim of that group, unlike that of the liquidators, being to *carry out*, not flout, the will of the majority of the class-conscious workers of Russia. At that time *both* newspapers published *resolutions* from workers all over Russia supporting either the line of the Party group or that of the liquidationist group. The *signatures* to the resolutions in favour of the Pravdist, i.e., the Party group in the Duma, numbered *6,722*, whereas those supporting the liquidationist group numbered

2,985 (including 1,086 signatures of Bundist workers and 719 of Caucasian workers). Thus, together with all their allies, the liquidators succeeded in collecting *less than one-third* of the signatures.

These, briefly, are the objective data which we oppose to the bare statements by the liquidators. These objective data on the *mass* working-class movement in Russia during the past two-and-a-half years definitely prove, through the experience of the class-conscious workers, that our Party line is correct.

Here I must digress and quote a concrete case to prove why "unity" or even "peace" with the present newspaper of the present liquidators is entirely ruled out.

This is an extremely important case, which will explain the attitude of the liquidators towards our Party's illegal activities, and I therefore ask the comrades to pay special attention to it.

It is common knowledge that since 1912 the revolutionary mass strikes have been developing with remarkable success in Russia. The factory owners have tried to counter them with lockouts. To formulate the Party's attitude towards this form of struggle, a conference of our Party, held in February *1913* (note the date: *1913*!) drew up and published a resolution *illegally*.[213]

This resolution (page 11 of the illegal publication) definitely advanced "the immediate task of organising revolutionary street demonstrations". It definitely recommended (ibid.) that "to counteract lockouts, new forms of struggle should be devised, such as the go-slow strike, for example, and, instead of political strikes, revolutionary meetings and revolutionary street demonstrations should be organised".

This, we repeat, was in February 1913, i.e., six months after the August Conference (1912) of the liquidators, the very same conference which assured the whole world that the liquidators were *not* opposed to the "underground". *Neither* during those six months, from August 1912 to February 1913, *nor during the ensuing twelve months*, from February 1913 to February 1914, did the August bloc issue a *single resolution* on this question. Absolutely none! Listen further.

On March 20 1914, the St. Petersburg factory owners decided to retaliate to a strike by declaring a lockout. In one day 70,000 workers in St. Petersburg were dismissed.

In conformity with our Party's resolution, the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., our Party's illegal organisation in St. Petersburg, decided to meet the lockout with a revolutionary demonstration on April 4, the anniversary of the shootings in the Lena gold-fields.[214]

It illegally issued an appeal to the workers, a copy of which lies before me now. It is signed: "The St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P." It repeats the Party's slogans (a republic and confiscation of the land) and ends with the words:

"Comrades! Come out onto the Nevsky Prospekt at 11 a.m. on April 4."

Needless to say, *Pravda itself*, as a legal publication, could not mention this appeal, let alone reprint it.

What was to be done? How could it convey to its working-class readers, if only to the most class-conscious and advanced of them, the *idea* that it was necessary to support the illegal appeal for an illegal revolutionary demonstration?

The only thing was to resort to the method that we always resort to, namely, hinting.

And so on the very day of the demonstration, on Friday, April 4, 1914, our paper (*Put Pravdy* No. 54) published an unsigned leading article under the discreet heading: "Forms of the Working-Class Movement."* This article makes direct mention of the "formal decision adopted by the Marxists in February 1913" and *hints* at a demonstration of a revolutionary character in the following words:

"The class-conscious workers are well acquainted with certain concrete cases when the movement rose to higher forms [i.e., forms of the struggle] which, historically, were subjected to repeated tests, and which are 'unintelligible' and 'alien' only to the liquidators." (*Put Pravdy*, 1914, No. 54.)

The Russian police and public prosecutors missed the hint. But the class-conscious workers did not.

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* See pp. 209-12 of this volume.—Ed.

The demonstration took place. All the bourgeois evening newspapers of April 4 were full of it. The next day, April 5, our paper (see *Put Pravdy* No. 55) *quoted* excerpts from the bourgeois newspapers, which stated that "during the last few days large numbers of leaflets signed by the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. were distributed among the workers, calling for a demonstration on April 4, the anniversary of the events in the Lena gold-fields".

Our paper could not be prosecuted for publishing *this* passage from the bourgeois newspapers. The result was that the decision of the illegal Party was carried out. A revolutionary demonstration was organised, and this work was *backed* by a legal newspaper with a readership of 40,000 workers.

And what did the liquidators do?

As I have already said, *neither* during the six months from August 1912 to February 1918, *nor* during the whole of the ensuing twelve months did *a single illegal decision* of the August bloc appear.

Nobody heard anything of illegal appeals by the liquidators (in connection with April 4, 1914) in St. Petersburg, nor did the bourgeois newspapers mention them. It must be said that evidence by the bourgeois newspapers is *very important*, for when leaflets are distributed in really large numbers, the bourgeois newspapers always hear and write about it. On the other hand, if leaflets are distributed in insignificant numbers, the masses are not aware of the fact, and the bourgeois newspapers say nothing about it.

Thus, the liquidators themselves did nothing to organise the revolutionary demonstration on April 4, 1914. They held aloof.

Moreover, in reporting the demonstration the next day, the legal liquidationist newspaper

did not reproduce the information given in the bourgeois newspapers about the distribution of leaflets signed by the St. Petersburg Committee of our Party!

This is monstrous, but it is a fact. I attach here a copy of the liquidationist newspaper of April 5, 1914 (*Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 48), in order to denounce this fact before the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau.

Just think what this means! People who shout that they want "unity" with our Party, people who claim to be Social-Democrats, *conceal* from the workers the *existence* of the illegal organisation of our Party, the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., conceal the fact that the latter issued *revolutionary*, illegal, underground leaflets, and that *it* organised the demonstration on April 4, 1914.

People who shout about "unity" with our Party *refrain from reproducing* information published in the bourgeois newspapers about the mass distribution of *underground* leaflets signed by the St. Petersburg Committee of our Party!

This should help our comrades in the foreign parties to understand why the question of the "underground" is of such vital and cardinal importance to us.

But even that is not all. A week later, on April 11, 1914, an article appeared in the liquidationist newspaper (*Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 51) in which the author *sneered* at the article published in *Pravda* of April 4, the day of the demonstration, on the "higher forms" of the struggle, *sneered* at the fact that *Pravda* had

"*clothed its ideas in a form that is difficult to understand*"!

Just think: the legal liquidationist newspaper, which is constantly criticising and abusing the "underground" *sneers* at the fact that our legal newspaper, which desires to *help* the "underground", does this only in the form of hints!

And for our newspaper's *hint* at "higher forms", i.e., at the revolutionary demonstration organised by the St. Petersburg Committee of our Party, the liquidators publicly, in their newspaper, in that very same article, called us "*adventurists*" and "most unprincipled adventurists", "*anarcho-syndicalists*" "*acting as agents provocateurs* against the workers"!

I have with me all the documents, a copy of the leaflet issued by the St. Petersburg Committee, a copy of our newspaper, and a copy of the liquidationist newspaper. Let those comrades who are interested request that these documents be translated for them in full.

On behalf of the Central Committee of our Party and of the vast majority of the organised Social-Democratic workers

of Russia, I declare: *there can be no "unity" and no "peace" with this group of liquidators as long as a newspaper like this exists*!

We *cannot* carry on our revolutionary activities among the masses in "unity" with such a newspaper.

III

I now come to the third part of my report. Having examined the *experience* of the mass working-class movement in Russia, which has confirmed the correctness of our line, I now propose to examine the *experience* of our opponents.

Our opponents, both the liquidators and groups abroad, such as Plekhanov's, like to apply to us the abusive term of "usurpers". They repeated this abuse in the columns of *Vorwärts* in March 1912. But *Vorwärts* did not give us an opportunity of replying! Let us see what political significance there is in the accusation that we are "usurpers".

I have already said that the 1912 Conference was convened by the Russian Organising Commission which was set up by the Party committees after the liquidators had wrecked the old Central Committee. We take credit for having restored the illegal Party, and the majority of the workers of Russia have recognised this.

But let us assume for a moment that our numerous opponents (numerous in the opinion of the intellectualist groups and the Party groups living abroad) are right. Let us assume that we are "usurpers", "splitters", and so forth. In that case, would it not be natural to expect our opponents to prove, *not merely with words*, *but by the experience* of their activities and their unity, that we are wrong.

If we are wrong in asserting that the Party can only be built up by fighting the liquidationist groups, then should we not expect the groups and organisations which disagree with us to *prove from the experience of their* activities that unity with the liquidators is possible?

But the experience of our opponents shows this. In January 1912, our illegal Party was restored by our Conference, which was representative of the majority of organisations in Russia.

In March 1912, the following united in the columns of *Vorwärts* to abuse us:

the liquidators
the Bund
the Letts
the Poles
the Trotskyists
and the Vperyodists.

What a lot of "trends" and "groups", one might think! How easy it should have been for them to set the workers of Russia a good example by their unity!

But when steps were taken to convene the "August" Conference of the liquidators, it was found that our opponents *could not* march in step.

Both the Poles and Plekhanov refused to attend the "August" Conference of the liquidators.

Why?

Because they *could not* agree even on the meaning of the term: membership in the Party!

And so, when Plekhanov's group or Rosa Luxemburg or anybody else, assure themselves and others that *it is possible* to unite with the liquidators, we answer: dear comrades, you just try yourselves to "unite" with the liquidators on a definition of Party membership, *not in word*, *but in deed*.

Further. The Vperyodists attended the August Conference, but afterwards *walked out* in protest and denounced it as a fiction.

Then, in February 1914, eighteen months after the "August Conference" of the liquidators, the Congress of the Lettish Party was held. The Letts had always been in favour of "unity". The Lettish workers *had wanted* to work with the liquidators and had proved this not merely in word, but in deed, *by experience*.

And after eighteen months' experience, the Letts, *while remaining strictly neutral*, declared at their congress that they were withdrawing from the August bloc because:

—as the resolution of the Lettish Congress reads:

"The attempt by the conciliators to unite at all costs with the liquidators (the August Conference of 1912) proved

fruitless, and the uniters themselves became ideologically and politically dependent upon the liquidators."

If anybody else wants to make the "experiment of uniting with the liquidators", let them do so. We, however, declare that until the liquidators definitely abandon their liquidationist line, unity with them is absolutely impossible.

Lastly, Trotsky's group, the Caucasians under their leader An, and a number of other liquidators ("Em-El", for example) have practically *dropped out* of the August bloc and founded *their own* journal, *Borba*. This journal has no connection with the workers whatsoever, but by its very existence, by its criticism of the liquidators' opportunism, by its breakaway from the liquidators, this journal, which belongs to the group of former liquidators, *has proved* in deed and by experience that unity with the liquidators is impossible.

Unity will be possible only when the liquidators are ready, once and for all, to abandon their entire tactics and cease to be liquidators.

I shall now proceed to formulate the precise and formal conditions for such "unity".

IV

The following are the practical, concrete conditions, formulated by our Central Committee, which will make "unity" with the liquidators possible for our Party.

First:

1. The Party resolutions on liquidationism, adopted in December 1908 and January 1910, shall be confirmed in the most emphatic and unreserved fashion, in application precisely to liquidationism.

In order that this confirmation may be accepted by all class-conscious workers in Russia as something really serious and final, and in order that no room may be left for any ambiguity, it shall be agreed that whoever opposes (especially in the legal press) the "underground", i.e., the illegal organisation, calls it a "corpse", declares it nonexistent, that its restoration is a reactionary utopia, and so forth, or, in general, deprecates the role and importance

of the "underground", shall be deemed deserving of condemnation and shall not be tolerated in the ranks of the illegal R.S.D.L.P.

It shall be agreed that whoever opposes (especially in the legal press) the "advertising of the illegal press" shall be deemed deserving of condemnation and shall not be tolerated in the ranks of the illegal Party. Membership in the illegal Party shall be open only to those who sincerely devote all their efforts to promoting the development of the illegal *press*, the publication of illegal leaflets, and so forth.

It shall be agreed that whoever, in any form whatsoever, advocates the formation in present-day Russia of an "open" (i.e., legal) workers' party—for objectively such a party would be a tsarist-monarchist labour party—whoever proclaims the slogan of an "open party" or of "fighting" for such a party, shall be deemed deserving of condemnation and shall not be tolerated in the ranks of the illegal Party.

It shall be agreed that whoever, in any form whatsoever, opposes (especially in the legal press) revolutionary mass strikes (i.e., strikes which combine the economic and political struggle with revolutionary agitation) and opposes the organisation of revolutionary meetings and street demonstrations, shall be deemed deserving of condemnation and shall not be tolerated in the ranks of the illegal Party. The banning of attacks against the revolutionary activities of the Party, which conducts strikes and demonstrations, shall also apply to condemnation, in the legal press, of the "strike craze" among the workers, or of "higher forms of the struggle" (=the legal pseudonym for demonstrations).

It shall be agreed that the journal *Nasha Zarya* and the newspaper *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* are guilty of such deviations from the Social-Democratic line towards "bourgeois influence".

2. It shall be agreed that whoever, in any form whatsoever, declares (especially in the legal press) that the slogans of a democratic republic and confiscation of the landed estates—slogans incorporated in our Party's programme and particularly urgent in present-day Russia, where the tsarist monarchy has reduced the tsar's formal recognition of the constitution to sheer mockery of the people—are useless, or of little use for agitation among the masses, shall be

deemed deserving of condemnation and shall not be tolerated in the ranks of the illegal Party.

It shall be agreed that whereas the liberal press is broadcasting the idea of reformism, the idea that political freedom is compatible with the existence of the tsarist monarchy, and that the revolutionary overthrow of tsarism is unnecessary, harmful, and sinful—in view of this, agitation for a constitutional reform such as freedom of association must be conducted, and conducted on the widest possible scale, with a clear realisation, however, that the working class is hostile to the propaganda of the liberal reformists; and this agitation must be closely combined with the task of explaining and disseminating the slogan of a republic, as a slogan for the revolutionary onslaught of the masses against the tsarist monarchy.

3. It shall be agreed that it is absolutely impermissible and incompatible with membership in the Party for any section of our Party—the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party—to enter into a bloc or alliance with *any other* party.

It shall be agreed that the bloc of the Bund and the liquidators with the Left-wing of the P.S.P., a *non*-Social-Democratic party, *against* the will and without the consent of the *Polish* Social-Democrats, and without a decision by the Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., comes within the category of such prohibited blocs.

Deputy Jagiello, as a member of a *non*-Social-Democratic party, can be regarded only as being aligned with our Party group in the Duma, but not as a member of that group.

4. It shall be agreed that in every city and every locality there shall be only one united Social-Democratic organisation embracing workers of all nationalities, and conducting activities in all the languages spoken by the local proletariat.

The national-Jewish separatism of the Bund, which to this day, in spite of the decisions of the Stockholm Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. of 1906, which were reaffirmed by the Conference of December 1908, refuses to apply the principle of international unity among the Social-Democratic workers in the localities—a principle which has been applied with such outstanding success in the Caucasus since 1898[215]—shall be condemned.

5. It shall be agreed that the demand for "cultural-national autonomy", which divides the workers according to nationality and is a refined form of nationalism—a demand that was rejected by a formal decision of the Second (1903) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.—contradicts the programme of the Party (as does also that pseudonym for cultural-national autonomy called "the establishment of institutions which will guarantee free national development").
All decisions by all local, national or special organisations of our Party (including the group in the Duma) that accept the principle of cultural-national autonomy shall be annulled and their re-adoption without a decision of the Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. shall be considered incompatible with membership in the Party.

6. Social-Democratic workers of every shade of opinion shall forthwith be called upon by all Party organisations, and by all the Party's publications in all languages, immediately to bring about unity from below, i.e., to form local, illegal Social-Democratic units, organisations and centres, or to join such organisations where they already exist. In this connection, the principle of federation, or of equality for all "trends" shall be unreservedly rejected, and the only principle to be recognised shall be that of loyal submission of the minority to the majority. The number of financial contributions made by workers' groups to the newspapers of the various trends since 1913, as reported in the legal press, shall be taken as the most accurate though approximate index of the alignment of forces among the various trends in the working-class movement. Consequently, these figures shall be published in all Party publications, which shall advise all Social-Democrats in the localities to be guided by these figures in all practical steps they take, pending the next Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

In the matter of defining Party membership, the *sole* criterion shall be membership in an illegal unit, group, or other organisation (local, factory, district organisation, or Social-Democratic group in some legal society), illegal activities in organising meetings, discussing Party decisions and distributing illegal literature.

All groups and "trends" shall immediately issue absolutely clear and definite illegal announcements about this.

7. The existence of two rival newspapers in the same town or locality shall be absolutely forbidden. The minority shall have the right to discuss before the whole Party, disagreements on programme, tactics and organisation in a discussion journal specially published for the purpose, but shall not have the right to publish, in a rival newspaper, pronouncements disruptive of the actions and decisions of the majority.

Inasmuch as the liquidators' newspaper in St. Petersburg, which is supported chiefly by bourgeois, not proletarian funds, is published contrary to the will of the acknowledged and indisputable* majority of the class-conscious Social-Democratic workers in St. Petersburg, and causes extreme disorganisation by advocating disregard for the will of the majority, it shall be deemed necessary to close this newspaper immediately and to issue a discussion journal in its place.

8. The resolution of the Second Congress of 1903, as well as that of the London Congress of 1907, on the bourgeois-democratic character of the Narodnik trend in general, including the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, shall be most definitely and unreservedly confirmed.

Any blocs, alliances, or temporary agreements between any one section of the Social-Democrats and the Socialist-Revolutionaries (or Narodniks in general) against another section of the Social-Democrats, shall be absolutely prohibited.

The St. Petersburg liquidators, who even at their own "August Conference" proclaimed no new Social-Democratic line towards the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and have been entering into blocs and agreements with the Socialist-

* In their newspaper (*Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 34, for June 13, 1914) the liquidators estimate the relative proportion of Pravdists and liquidators in St. Petersburg at 72 per cent and 28 per cent respectively. This queer calculation is based, not on the number of workers' groups, but on the sum of money collected from both workers and bourgeois, so that 10,000 workers who contribute 10 kopeks each are equivalent to one bourgeois who has contributed 1,000 rubles. In fact, between January 1 and May 13, 1914, the Pravdists received 2,024 contributions from workers' groups in St. Petersburg, while the liquidators received 308, making the percentages 86 and 14 respectively.

Revolutionaries against the overwhelming majority of the Social-Democratic workers in St. Petersburg, as was the case during the elections to the Insurance Boards, shall be definitely and unreservedly condemned.

A publicists' bloc shall be forbidden between outstanding liquidators and prominent Social-Democrats belonging to groups that defend the liquidators (Plekhanov, Trotsky, and others), and the Socialist-Revolutionaries who in their St. Petersburg journal *Sovremennik* assert that "the old cleavage, at all events, has disappeared" and that "it is impossible to tell where Marxism ends and Narodism begins". (*Sovremennik* No. 7, p. 76.)

Publicists who wish to become members of the Social-Democratic Party, but who contribute to that journal for reasons other than the necessity of seeking a livelihood by writing for bourgeois publications, shall be called upon to withdraw from the journal and make a public announcement to this effect.

9. In view of the extreme disorganisation introduced into the working-class movement of Russia by various detached groups abroad, which act without a mandate from any Party organisation in Russia, and without any agreement with such an organisation, it shall be deemed necessary to pass and put into effect a resolution that all groups resident abroad shall without exception communicate with organisations operating in Russia only through the Central Committee of the Party.

Groups abroad which do not submit to the Russian centre of Social-Democratic activity, i.e., the Central Committee, and which cause disorganisation by communicating with Russia independently of the Central Committee, shall have no right to speak on behalf of the R.S.D.L.P.

A Social-Democratic discussion journal shall be founded abroad, with funds collected there, for the purpose of discussing from all angles and free of the censorship, questions concerning the programme, tactics and organisation.

The Party rule (Clause 3) that only "endorsed organisations of the Party have a right to publish Party literature" shall be reaffirmed and strictly applied.

10. The resolution unanimously adopted at the beginning of January 1908 by the London Central Committee

shall be deemed absolutely binding on all Social-Democrats.

The resolution reads:

"more vigorous Social-Democratic activity in the trade union movement is prescribed by the entire present situation and must be carried on in keeping with the spirit of the London* and Stuttgart** resolutions, i.e., under no circumstances in the spirit of recognising the principle that trade unions are neutral or non-Party, but on the contrary, in the spirit of unswerving effort to establish the closest possible connection between the trade unions and the Social-Democratic Party."

It shall be agreed that attempts to conduct agitation in the trade unions against the illegal R.S.D.L.P. are incompatible with membership in the Party.

The liquidators shall undertake to refrain from calling for insubordination to the executives of the unions, to loyally submit to the Marxist majority of the unions, and under no circumstances form separatist duplicate unions.

The same shall apply to activities in all kinds of workers' societies—clubs and the like.

All Social-Democrats in every union, cultural and educational society and the like, shall join the illegal Social-Democratic unit in the respective organisation. The decisions of the illegal Party shall be binding on all such groups.

It shall be agreed that it is obligatory for all Social-Democrats to oppose the division of the trade unions according to nationality.

11. It shall be agreed that newspaper utterances against the representation elected by the St. Petersburg workers to the insurance bodies (the All-Russia Insurance Board, the Metropolitan Insurance Board, and so forth) and appeals for non-subordination to its direction, etc., *must be forbidden*. It shall be agreed that the insurance programme approved by this workers' representation *is obligatory*.

The journal *Strakhovanie Rabochikh*,[216] which is a rival to the official organ of the workers' insurance representation (*Voprosy Strakhovania*) shall close down.

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* The London Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., 1907.

** The International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, 1907.

12. The Caucasian Social-Democrats must forbid agitation in favour of cultural-national autonomy, which has been rejected by the Programme of the R.S.D.L.P.

The Caucasian Social-Democrats shall undertake not to violate the principle of a united international organisation in every city, and under no circumstances adopt the principle, either in political or industrial organisations, of dividing workers according to nationality.

13. The six members of the Duma (the Chkheidze group), and also deputy Buryanov, must accept all the above conditions.

The Chkheidze group must declare from the Duma rostrum that, in conformity with the Programme of the Russian Social-Democrats, it *withdraws* its support of "cultural-national autonomy" (and its pseudonym: "institutions" etc.).

The Chkheidze group must accept the leadership of the Party's Central Committee elected at the January Conference of 1912, and must recognise as binding all Party decisions, and also the Central Committee's right of veto.

Such are the terms on which the Central Committee of our Party considers unity possible, and on which it undertakes to launch a campaign in favour of unity. We consider it utterly impossible to have any negotiations or contacts with the liquidators' group which publishes *Nasha Zarya* and *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, as long as it pursues its *present* tactics. As far as their political role in the working-class movement in Russia is concerned; we regard all the other groups, trends, factions and bodies which defend the liquidators or advocate unity or compromise with them, as fictions.

We declare that to feed the working class of Russia with verbal assurances and promises that unity with the liquidationist group is possible and easy, means rendering very bad service to the cause, and passing off phrases for reality.

We therefore make the following practical proposal.

A year ago, the question was raised in our Party of convening a Party congress. This was announced in the resolutions of the 1913 Summer Conference of the Central Com-

mittee of the R.S.D.L.P. The arrangements for convening this congress are now almost completed. In all probability, a congress of our Party will be held in the very near future, immediately after the Vienna Congress, or even while it is being held. Of course, we ask the comrades not to announce this or speak of it. If arrests are very numerous, perhaps a conference will be held instead of a congress.

Thus, while refraining from any steps towards a rapprochement with the liquidationist group or its defenders *until the above terms are accepted and carried out*, we propose that all groups, trends and factions, which—unlike us—hold that unity, or peace, or compromise with the present liquidationist group such as it is, is possible considering its present tactics, we propose that these groups should take the opportunity provided by the Vienna Congress to organise a joint formal discussion of our terms.

Let those who advocate peace or compromise with the liquidators not confine themselves to propaganda, but prove *in deed* that unity with the present liquidators is possible.

For our part, we shall be very glad if we are able to inform the representatives of four-fifths of the workers of Russia gathered at the congress or conference of our Party as to the outcome of the conference between all groups that defend the liquidators, and the liquidationist group.

14. In conclusion, I must touch upon one other point which, although very unpleasant, cannot be avoided if we are to have a sincere and frank exchange of opinion on the question of Social-Democratic unity in Russia.

The point is the following:

In their press, our opponents, the liquidators, are conducting a bitter personal campaign against several members of our Party, accusing them publicly and before the masses, of a host of dishonourable, despicable and criminal actions, or else reporting in their newspaper "rumours" about such actions. Our Party press replies to these attacks and, in the name of the Central Committee of our Party, plainly and definitely calls the liquidators—and especially their two leaders, Dan and Martov—slanderers.

It is not difficult to realise the degree of disorganisation and demoralisation the liquidators are spreading among the masses by this sort of "campaign", to which we shall always

retaliate on the principle "*à corsaire—corsaire et demi*". We shall briefly quote four examples:

1. In 1911, L. Martov published in Paris a pamphlet entitled *Saviours or Destroyers*, devoted in the main to accusations against Lenin of having committed dishonourable and criminal acts. Martov sent a German translation of this pamphlet to Kautsky, who was then acting as arbiter in a controversial question affecting Russian Social-Democracy. In a letter to Lunacharsky (of the *Vperyod* group) Kautsky described Martov's pamphlet as "disgusting", and this opinion was published in the Russian Social-Democratic press by Plekhanov. The liquidators' newspaper is now beginning, in the form of insinuations, gradually to spread the contents of this pamphlet among the Russian public.

2. Since 1913 the liquidators' newspaper has been constantly accusing Dansky, a member of our Party and an insurance expert, of dishonesty. The pretext for these accusations is that Dansky works for an employers' organisation, thus serving the bourgeoisie. Our Party, as represented by a number of bodies (the editorial boards of *Pravda* and *Prosveshcheniye*, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma, several trade unions, etc.), examined these accusations and found that Dansky had gradually given up working for the employers and was serving the working-class movement, beginning as anonymous contributor to *Pravda*. When Dansky definitely joined our Party he was requested, in conformity with the resolutions of our Party, to sever all connections with the employers' organisation. Dansky did so and gave up his job. On behalf of the Central Committee, I repeat that our Party regards this man as an honest comrade, and it will not permit anybody to besmirch his honour with impunity. Our press, in accusing the liquidators of slandering Dansky, pointed out that in this case the liquidators were particularly dishonest, because Martov himself constantly writes for a bourgeois newspaper under a different pseudonym (here I will fully reveal the fact: *Yegorov*, in *Kievskaya Mysl*); *Yezhov*, one of the closest collaborators of the liquidationist newspaper, was on the staff of an employers' association, as was, or is, also the case with *Yermansky*.

3. Malinovsky, a Duma member, suddenly left the Duma and resigned without giving any reason. Our workers called together their local and central leading bodies and sentenced Malinovsky to expulsion from the Party, describing his unexplained resignation without consultation with his colleagues as disruptive, and as desertion from his post. The liquidationist newspaper then began to publish anonymous rumours to the effect that Malinovsky was an agent provocateur, and demanded a joint investigation by the different groups. Our Central Committee declared that it vouched for Malinovsky, had investigated the rumours, and was convinced that Dan and Martov were indulging in base slander. The Central Committee rejected the proposal for a joint commission with the liquidators and, following on the opinion expressed by the representatives of ten trade unions in Moscow, denounced as slanderers those people who dared to publish in the press anonymous "*rumours*" about agents provocateurs, instead of submitting these rumours in an organised manner to our Central Committee, *or to their own* Central Committee (their "O.C."), to the Bund and to groups that trust the liquidators, to have them investigated by *boards* and responsible bodies. Burtsev declared that he did not believe the rumours. The Committee of Investigation set up by our Central Committee declared that it would publish the facts about those who were circulating these rumours. I can only add that these rumours were circulated by the *liquidators*.

4. Some days ago the liquidationist newspaper published an open letter from ex-member of the Second Duma Alexinsky, accusing Comrade Antonov, a member of our Party who had served a term of penal servitude, of being a traitor. But Comrade Antonov's conduct was pronounced unimpeachable both by a special committee consisting of comrades who had served sentence with him, as well as by a decision of the Central Committee of the Party adopted in 1907-08 in Finland, when the Mensheviks (i.e., the present liquidators) and all the "national organisations" were represented on the Central Committee. The answer given in our press is again tantamount to accusing Dan and Martov of spreading slander.

On instructions from the Central Committee, I must submit to the Executive Committee of the International Social-

ist Bureau the following practical proposal on this matter. We regard the liquidators' procedure as a specific method of political struggle used by people who have been expelled from the Party. We therefore harbour no hope that this matter can be "rectified" with the aid of moral precepts. But when bodies which screen the liquidators (the "O.C." and the Bund, for example, as well as Trotsky), and the numerous groups abroad (including Plekhanov) talk to us about "*unity*" with these liquidators, we make them the following proposal before the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau:

let them declare openly and publicly, without equivocation, whether they approve or disapprove of the liquidators' "campaign" on all the four points enumerated (to which we are sure the liquidators will add another 44).

If they disapprove, let the workers of Russia know it.

If they approve, let *all* groups that offer us "unity" or compromise with the liquidators elect a joint commission and formulate a reasoned, business-like, and open charge of dishonest conduct against certain members of our Party. We shall submit this charge to our Party congress and invite representatives of this commission of all groups which defend the liquidators to attend our congress and produce their evidence.

We deem it our duty to declare that if this is not done, it will strengthen the opinion, already being expressed in the ranks of our Party, that all groups that advocate "unity" with the liquidators are *tacitly* supporting the slanderers.

In the name of the majority of the class-conscious workers of Russia, we shall defend the organisation of our Party from the disruptors, and we shall recognise no means of defence other than those we have applied, and which I have enumerated above (not to mention the bourgeois law court, to which we shall resort at the first opportunity).

The report I have been instructed to make on behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party is finished. Permit me to sum up in two brief theses:

Formally, the situation is as follows. Our Party, which was restored at the January 1912 Conference in the teeth of the resistance from the liquidators' group, expelled that group.

After this, after two-and-a-half years of the movement, the overwhelming majority, of the class-conscious workers of Russia have approved of our Party line. We therefore have every reason to be convinced more firmly than ever that our line is correct, *and we shall not depart from it*. If the liquidators and the groups defending them want us to rescind the resolution expelling the liquidators from the Party, our Central Committee is prepared to submit a motion to that effect to our Party congress and to support it *only* on the terms I have mentioned.

Materially, i.e., in substance, the position is as follows. Russia is passing through a period of bourgeois revolutions, during which small and unstable groups of intellectuals are sometimes inclined to regard themselves as Social-Democrats, or to support the opportunist trend in the Social-Democratic movement, which our Party has been fighting against for the past twenty years (Economism in 1895-1902, Menshevism in 1903-08, and liquidationism in 1908-14). The experience of the August (1912) bloc of liquidators and its break-down have shown that the liquidators and their defenders are absolutely incapable of forming any kind of party or organisation. The genuine workers' Social-Democratic Party of Russia which, in spite of enormous difficulties, has already united eight-tenths of the class-conscious workers (counting only Social-Democrats) or seven-tenths (counting Social-Democrats and Socialist-Revolutionaries) can be built up, and is being built up, only in the struggle against these groups.

Appendix

INSTRUCTIONS

I. NOTES PRIVÉES

On the question as to the connection existing between the figures on whether the majority or the minority of workers follow the lead of the Pravdists, or rather, are themselves Pravdists, in Russia, and the question of "unity", it should be noted:

1. If a party or group definitely and concretely advances a programme or tactics with which our Party cannot agree in principle, then the question of a majority is of course of no significance. If, for example, the Socialist-Revolutionary Party (Left Narodniks), whose programme and tactics differ from ours, were to win over the majority of workers in Russia, that would not in the least induce us to depart from our line. The same applies to the straightforward and definite repudiation of the "underground" (= illegal Party) in present-day Russia.

However, certain Social-Democratic groups and some liquidators assert that there are no irreconcilable disagreements on principle between us. We are obliged to point out their inconsistency to these groups and individuals, when they refuse to submit to the majority.

2. We have been convinced of the correctness of our line on tactics and organisation primarily by our long years of acquaintance with the workers' Social-Democratic movement in Russia, and by our participation in it, as well as by our theoretical Marxist convictions. But we are of the opinion that the practical experience of the *mass* working-class movement is no less important than theory, and that this experience alone can serve as a serious *test* of our principles. "Theory, my friend, is grey, but the tree of life is eternally green" (Faust). Therefore, the fact that, after two-and-a-half

years of struggle against liquidationism and its allies, four-fifths of the class-conscious workers have expressed themselves in favour of Pravdism, strengthens our conviction that our line is correct and makes this conviction unshakable.

3. In Russia, nearly every group, or "faction" (to use the old terminology), accuses the other of being *not* a workers' group, but a bourgeois intellectualist group. We consider this accusation or rather argument, this reference to the social significance of a particular group, *extremely important in principle*. But precisely because we consider it extremely important, we deem it our duty not to make sweeping statements about the social significance of other groups, but to back *our* statements with *objective* facts. For the objective facts prove absolutely and irrefutably that Pravdism *alone* is a *workers'* trend in Russia, whereas liquidationism and Socialist-Revolutionism are *in fact* bourgeois intellectualist trends.

II. NOTES PRIVÉES

Should an attempt be made (whether by any member of the International Socialist Bureau, or by our opponents) to "dismiss" or *set aside* the evidence, the objective proofs, that we are the majority, then be sure to ask for the floor so as to make a formal statement on behalf of the entire delegation and enter a formal protest of the following nature:

We categorically protest against the statement (or hints, inferences, etc.) that our objective evidence as to the side which the overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers of Russia are supporting, cannot be examined by the Executive Committee on the grounds that it has not verified them (or on the grounds that they are irrelevant to the question of unity). On the contrary, we consider that it is in the indubitable interest of the entire International, and in accordance with the will of the International Socialist Bureau, as clearly expressed in the resolution of the I.S.B. (December 1913), to receive the fullest, most precise, and documented information on the actual state of the working-class movement in Russia.

We are of the opinion that our opponents, who are aware of the December decision of the I.S.B., have failed to perform their duty in not yet having independently collected objective data on the working-class movement in Russia.

We declare that after Comrade Vandervelde's successful visit to Russia, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the Executive Committee of the I.S.B. could, through Comrade Vandervelde, quite legally have addressed an open letter to the editors of all the working-class (or would-be working-class) newspapers in Russia, and to all the members of the executives of all the legal workers' societies in Russia, for the purpose of obtaining from direct sources data showing how the class-conscious workers of Russia are divided into Pravdists, liquidators, Socialist-Revolutionaries (Left Narodniks), and other trends.

Without such objective data, the subjective statements of the representatives of individual "groups" are entirely worthless.

III. NOT FOR THE REPORT

Judging from certain fragmentary statements by the liquidators at the Lettish Congress and from hints in the press, one of the fraudulent plans for "unity" they propose is that of a "general congress".

This plan, whose obvious object is to dupe credulous foreigners, is roughly as follows: either set up a "federated" organising committee for the purpose of convening a general congress, or "supplement" the Central Committee of our Party with representatives of one of the liquidationist organisations for the purpose of convening this congress.

In whatever the form it is presented, this plan is wholly unacceptable to us, and if it nevertheless comes up at the "conference" in Brussels, our delegation of the Central Committee must declare the following:

It is absolutely impossible for us to take any step towards a general congress or federation, or even towards the slightest rapprochement, until the liquidators' group complies with the terms we propose. For *unless* that group fulfils these terms, it will be impossible for us to place *the slightest* confidence in the liquidators' group which has been expelled

from the Party, and, in its paper, is daily continuing its disruptive activities.

If we placed any confidence in this group, it would *encourage* it to continue its disruptive work. On the basis of decisions of our congresses, conferences and our Central Committee, we demand the *cessation* of these activities of the liquidators as a *canditio sine qua non* of "peace".

The fact that the liquidators are shielded by groups or organisations which have not been formally expelled from the Party (for example, the Bund, or the Caucasian Regional Bureau, or the six deputies, etc.) does not in the least alter the case. As far as work in Russia is concerned, *only* one thing really matters, i.e., that this group of liquidators and their newspaper advocate flouting the will of the majority.

Let the Bund, Chkheidze's six deputies and the others—or the Caucasian Regional Committee, or Trotsky, or the O.C., or anybody else who desires rapprochement with us, first of all *induce* the liquidators' group to accept our terms, or else emphatically condemn it and break with it. Unless this is done, we *cannot take the slightest* step that might in any way indicate confidence in the liquidators' group.

Let those who really want to see Russian Social-Democracy united harbour no illusions and yield to no subjective assurances, promises and the like. There is one and only one way to unity, and that is to induce the minority which has left the illegal Party and is trying to thwart and disrupt its activities and the will of the majority, to abandon its present practices and *prove in deed* that it is willing to respect the will of the majority.

No direct or indirect encouragement of the liquidators' group in its *present* conduct, or attempts to inspire it with hopes of the possibility of "federation", "conciliation", a "general congress","rapprochement", or the like with that group, *as long as* it continues its present activities and refuses to submit *in deed* to the will of the majority, will lead to anything. The Party of the Social-Democratic workers in Russia, which unites four-fifths of the class-conscious workers, *will not allow* its will to be thwarted.

Let those groups or bodies which "assure" themselves and others that the liquidators are not so bad (the Bund,

the O.C., the Caucasian Regional Committee) realise that we want not words but deeds. If they trust the liquidators let *them* organise *their own* congress with them, submit *our* terms to that congress, and induce the liquidators to give a favourable reply to these terms and faithfully carry them out. We shall wait and see the results; we shall wait and see their *actions*; we shall not believe promises.

Only after our terms have been faithfully complied with wiII a general congress, and steps towards it, be possible.

Our foreign socialist comrades are sometimes most sadly mistaken when they think that the cause of unity can be promoted by inspiring the liquidators with the hope that we will agree to co-operate with them even if they do *not* completely and radically change their conduct, and even if they do *not* submit to the will of the majority. Objectively, such tactics amount to helping, not the cause of unity, but the splitters.

Our terms constitute a draft of a *pacte d'unité*, and until this pact is signed by the liquidators and until they have carried it out in practice, there can be no talk of taking any steps towards a rapprochement.

IV

Re the demonstration of 4.4. 1914.* 1) I have ordered from St. Petersburg (in Popov's name) issue No. 18 of *Stoikaya Mysl* (Socialist-Revolutionary) and bourgeois papers for 4-5.4.1914. If it arrives it should be used to supplement the documents of the report.

We do *not* assert that the liquidators never issued leaflets. They had one in May *1913* (the Vienna leaflet); in 1914, the *St. Petersburg people say*, they had none. They are said to have had one about the strike.

But 4.4. 1914 is a typical case of the wrecking of illegal work.

If Plekhanov or Rubanovich wish to ask publicly whether we vote *for* their attendance, I would reply: "We would vote *against*, because Rubanovich is not a Social-Democrat, and Plekhanov *does not represent anything in Russia. But*

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* See pp. 509-13 of this volume.—*Ed.*

since our report contains a direct attack on Plekhanov's group and Rubanovich's trend, we do not wish to vote against, and shall *abstain*.

Guarantees for the minority?— we may be asked.

"No, we can discuss no guarantees whatever either with the group of liquidators expelled from the Party, or concerning that group. We ourselves demand guarantees from the liquidators and their friends."

N.B. The general spirit of our terms: fight against departures from the *old*, *against a swing towards a new party*. *Nous ne marchons pas*! Cf. Axelrod on "party reform, *or rather on a party revolution*".*

N.B. ||| A person who writes like this is ridiculous, if he complains about a split!

Is an "*All-Russia* S.D.L.P." legitimate without the non-Russian nationalities?

It is, because it was an *All-Russia* party from 1898 to 1903 without the Poles and Letts, and from 1903 to 1906 without the Poles, Letts and the Bund!

We did not exclude the non-Russian nationalities. They themselves left on account of the liquidators. *Tant pis pour eux*!

Fight *with all our might* to have the Conference Minutes published. Submit a *written* protest in the event of refusal (in case of a general refusal, demand that our resolutions be published—*we shall publish them in any case*—as well as *counter-resolutions* (the Executive Committee may eliminate personal attacks)).

We have one aim—to make the liquidators+Bund+P.S.P. +Plekhanov *formulate* counter-resolutions and counter-proposals. As for us, we agree *to nothing*, and walk out,

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* See present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 175-86.—*Ed*.

promising to submit the "counter-proposals" of our dear comrades to our congress.

The most important thing is to emphasise (best of all in a reply) that our "terms" were *in the main published long ago by the workers*. I am sending Popov the appropriate issues of *Pravda*.

What procedure is desirable, from our point of view, for the conference in Brussels?

First, the reports of *all* organisations and groups—this will take up a fairly long time. Then brief comments followed by a *formulation* of *concrete* proposals made by *all* organisations and groups.

When all the participants at the conference have formulated their concrete proposals, each of them should express his opinion whether he considers *these* proposals a *basis* for possible further steps towards a rapprochement or talks on rapprochement, or, if he considers that impossible, he will submit *all* the proposals to his organisation.

Clearly, we, *in any case*, *shall not accept* the proposals of the liquidators, the Bund, Rosa and Plekhanov (as well as of Kautsky and Vandervelde), and shall submit them to our congress or conference.

Our task is only to make our terms clear, *make a note* of "their" terms, and walk out.

Are not our terms in the nature of an ultimatum?—we may be asked. They are not. We shall see what counter-proposals are made to us before saying whether we agree to continued talks on this basis or not (we should let *everyone* have his say, ask *everyone* for counter-proposals on *all* questions, and go away. *Voilà notre programme*!

Should Polish affairs be kept apart from Russian? I think we ought to be opposed to separation. We shall consult our Polish comrade on this.

Obviously, people will go out of their way to attack us for our "monstrous" demands. We should calmly refer to the resolutions of our conferences and meetings and the resolutions on unity adopted by the St. Petersburg, Moscow,

Caucasian and other comrades. I shall send a collection of them. We *sum up* the opinions of our organisations. If anybody chooses to disregard them, that is their business. *Nous n'y pouvons rien.*

According to the liquidators' newspaper, Vandervelde threw out a feeler in St. Petersburg as to whether we would agree to the Executive Committee acting, *not as mediator* but *as arbiter*, that is, as *supreme* "judge" in our disagreements.

The answer is this. When Bebel proposed this in 1905 our congress rejected it with thanks, declaring that we were an autonomous party."[217] I think today our congress will give the same reply. (Such, at any rate, is the opinion of the Central Committee.)

On "slanderous" affairs "they" will probably propose a *general withdrawal of all accusations*. Ask this to be put to the vote! *We are against*. We shall submit their proposal to our congress. (They will be in a proper mess if they make and carry through such a proposal.) [[We do not equate the guilt of a spreader of slander with the conduct of a person who has called a slanderer a slanderer.]]

Generally speaking, there is no doubt that "they" will all seek "half-way" and "conciliatory" formulas. We shall point out that this attempt was made with regard to us in January 1910 and with regard to the Letts in August 1912, and we *shall not repeat it*. Let the conference divide into two clear camps: those who consider rapprochement with the *present* liquidators possible, and those who turn down the idea of rapprochement unless the liquidators *radically change their tactics and behaviour*.

"Conciliatory" formulas should be *carefully recorded* (this is most important), then slightly criticised, and——everything rejected.

HOW THE WORKERS RESPONDED TO THE FORMATION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR GROUP IN THE DUMA[218]

It was natural that the *open* struggle against the liquidators should flare up more strongly than ever with the formation of the independent Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma. A more convenient and plausible excuse for the liquidators of the Party (and for their overt and covert defenders) to shout about "unity" could not be imagined. From the point of view of the man in the street, the whole issue would seem to centre on the question whether one or two Duma groups want to call themselves Social-Democratic. As to whose will one or the other group is carrying out, what decisions the majority of the class-conscious and organised workers have adopted, or what is the "underground"—the man in the street is incapable of grasping this, and indeed shrinks from doing so.

Therefore, if there was any point on which the liquidators could count on the sympathy of the man in the street and philistines, who do not care a hang about parties, it was precisely on the point of what is known as the "split" in the Social-Democratic group in the Duma. The outcries from philistines who would call themselves Social-Democrats have never been so loud and so piteous. The open nature of all these events made it much easier for the workers and the public at large to appraise them, and *Pravda*, in unison with the liquidators' newspaper, has called upon the class-conscious proletariat to express its opinion.

Letters, statements and resolutions from workers have begun to fill the columns of both newspapers.

Many months have passed since the independent Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma was formed (at the end of October 1913). The campaign of resolutions in the respective newspapers, in favour of the Six (Russian Social-Democratic Labour group) or of the Seven (the liquidators) is now over.

The question arises, what are the results of this campaign?

On this point we have first of all the following statement by Mr. L. Martov in *Nasha Zarya* No. 10-11:

> "What," writes Mr. L. Martov, "was the proletariat's attitude towards the split in the Duma group which it had come to look up as a united whole? It is difficult [!?] to judge of this from the figures given in the press. Over ten thousand workers expressed their opinion on this question in *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* and in *Za Pravdu*. Of this number, *slightly more than half* [italics ours] approved of the way the Six had acted. But the significance of this preponderance is diminished [listen to this!] by the fact that opposition to the split and, consequently, support for the majority in the Social-Democratic Duma group, was expressed by numerous Party groups, including several which unite a relatively large number of workers." (*Nasha Zarya*, 1913, No. 10-11, p. 97.)

So much for Mr. Martov's argument, which for the thousandth time glaringly reveals the truly Burenin methods[219] he employs in distorting the truth! "Slightly more than half"! Can anything be more evasive? Fifty-one and ninety-nine out of a hundred would both be "slightly more than half".

How can the preponderance be "diminished" by the fact that there were numerous Party groups? In the first place, no figures are given. The term "numerous" can be interpreted in whatever way one pleases. One would think Mr. Martov had deliberately invented the term in order to *conceal* the truth. Secondly, *and most important*: if it is true that numerous Party groups are supported by a *minority* of the workers, then it is obvious that these groups are *fictitious*, for only the totally uninformed or inattentive reader will believe Mr. L. Martov's suggestion that it is possible for a *non-fictitious* group to *fail to collect* in a newspaper *the opinions of all* the workers it represents on an important and burning issue.

Mr. L. Martov has overreached himself. He has not only admitted that the *majority* of the workers have condemned the *liquidationist* section of the Duma Social-Democratic

group, i.e., the Seven, but also that the liquidators claim to have groups which are actually *fictitious* and are *not* supported by the workers.

While acknowledging defeat, Mr. Martov, by his reference to fictitious "groups", tried to conceal, *à la* Burenin, the *magnitude* of this defeat. And that is the crux of the matter. As regards the magnitude of this defeat, *exact figures* were published and reported to Martov's friends at the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau *as far back as* December 1 (14), 1913! Why did not the liquidators ever say *a single word* in the press about these figures? Was it because their conscience was not clear?

These figures gave the results up to November 20, 1913. Only the *signatures* attached to pronouncements by workers were taken, i.e., data of the most precise kind, which have *never* been challenged. These figures show 4,850 signatures in favour of the Six, and only 2,539 (of which 1,086 came from the Bund and 636 from the Caucasus) in favour of the liquidators, i.e., of the Seven.

Now ask yourselves how the methods of a writer should be qualified who tries to assure the public that the preponderance of the opponents of liquidationism is "diminished" by the fact that there were "numerous" (fictitious) groups, which *together* succeeded in obtaining all over Russia the support of only *one-third* of the workers who expressed their opinions!

Below we give the number of *signatures* attached to definitely expressed resolutions published in both newspapers during the *whole period* of the campaign (which ended at the beginning of January);

	Number of signatures to published resolutions and statements		
	In favour of the Six (of the Party)	In favour of the Seven (of the liquidators)	Total
St. Petersburg	5,003	621	5,624
The rest of Russia . . .	1,511	559	2,070
The Caucasus	208	719	927
The Bund	—	1,086	1,086
Total . .	6,722	2,985	9,707

The liquidators have so corrupted their readership with their incredibly brazen reiteration of false, absolutely unsupported and absolutely unverifiable statements, that we cannot stress the importance of the above-quoted figures too strongly. They have been taken from both rival newspapers, and any literate person can verify our calculation, and make his own.

These figures give us a highly illuminating picture of the state of Party affairs among Marxists in Russia. No other political party in Russia can show, for the whole period of the counter-revolution in general and for 1913 in particular, a similar *open and mass opinion poll of all its members* on a most important issue of Party life. None of the legalised parties in Russia, none of the wealthy liberal and democratic parties, which have a host of intellectualist forces and all sorts of publications at their command, has done as much as the party of the working class, the party of propertyless proletarians, who have been driven underground and maintain their newspaper with the kopeks they collect.

The workers' party has set *all* parties in Russia an example of *how* the *masses* of the rank-and-file members should be drawn into an open and all-round discussion of controversial issues. The liberals and philistines of all parties, of all ages and of all types, are fond of bewailing the "splits" in the ranks of the Social-Democrats. These good souls do not realise that it is impossible to carry out the will of the majority without a struggle; and unless the will of the majority is carried out there is no use talking about the Party spirit, or even of organised political action in general.

By "unity", foolish people mean a "system" under which thirteen members of the Duma act *in defiance of* the will of the *majority* of the organised and class-conscious Marxist workers of Russia; by a "split" they mean the formation, by the six Duma members, of an independent group acting *in harmony* with this majority of workers, *with the purpose* of carrying out its will.

Do not these foolish people cut a ridiculous figure? Are they not contemptible?

It should now be clear to everybody, except to those who are out to deceive the workers, that the much bruited "unity" of the thirteen deputies (about which the liquidators and

conciliators talk so much) was actually the *flouting* of the will of the Party, *mockery* of the will of the majority of the workers.

And vice versa. Consider the matter from another angle. No person in his right mind has ever attempted to question the fact that in the summer of 1913 a conference of Marxists (*far from open*) was held, whose decision, endorsed by the leading body of the Party, became the Party's will and decision. This decision demanded that the Six should act independently.* You vilify this conference, Messrs. liquidators and conciliators? You call it a circle, a packed meeting, a piece of fiction, etc.? Very well! But your abuse only expresses your impotence, for the objective facts are indisputable: by a decision of this "circle", two-thirds of the class-conscious workers of Russia came out to the man *in favour* of the conference, *in favour* of carrying out its will.

This is precisely what we call a *party*, you gentlemen who babble about "unity", but, by "unity", mean *permitting* the liquidators to *flout* the will of the Party.

Note that with two rival dailies there could be no question of anybody trying to prevent even a single class-conscious worker from expressing his opinion if he desired to do so. As it turned out, less than a third supported the liquidators; and of the total number of votes cast for the liquidators, more than half came from the Bund and the Caucasus. Moreover, the figures we have quoted contain hardly any *signatures* of Lettish workers (there were 98 signatures for the Six and 70 for the liquidators, whereas, among the Lettish workers who voted on this question without giving their signatures, 863 voted for the Six and 347 for the liquidators); nor do they contain the votes of over 800 Polish Social-Democratic workers who also voted for the Six but did not give their signatures (in the same way, about 400 supporters of the Left wing voted for the liquidators).

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* See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 424-25.—*Ed.*

WHAT IS SHOWN BY THE ACTIVITIES OF THE TWO GROUPS DURING THE FIRST QUARTER

We cannot dwell here upon the *political* content of these activities. This most interesting question of how the activities of the Six *have gained* from the needs, demands, views and will of the *majority* of the workers now being proclaimed from the Duma rostrum must regretfully be left for another occasion. We shall merely state briefly that in the speeches they delivered on March 4, 1914, Badayev and Malinovsky, spokesmen of the *Six* in the Duma, formulated *for the first time* the question of freedom of the press, *not* in a liberal manner, but in a manner worthy of the proletariat, whereas the liquidators, both in the literary world and in the columns of their newspapers, as well as in the speeches delivered in the Duma by their Seven floundered on this question in a purely liberal manner. One may read in *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* of as recent a date as March 13, on p. 2 of that issue, an argument to the effect that "advertising the illegal press can only weaken the workers' struggle for their legal press". How important it was in *principle* to form an independent Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma to combat shameful renegade statements and opinions of the kind just quoted, has already been stressed in this volume and will be stressed again more than once.

For the moment, we shall undertake the more modest task of drawing our readers' attention to the "external", if one may so express it, evidence showing *what* the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma at once became *as distinct* from the seven liquidators.

Each Duma group publishes in its newspaper the financial reports of its treasurer, showing the sums that have passed through its hands. These sums, designated for the relief of comrades in prison or in exile, for aid to strikers in different factories and industries, and for various other needs of the working-class movement, reveal to us a number of aspects of *working-class life*; they strikingly reveal—by exact, indisputable and impartial figures—what *links* each of the groups in the Duma has with the working-class movement.

In both newspapers and in both Duma groups, the latest report of this kind covers the period *up to* January 21, 1914. Thus, we have reports for only *three* months of the period during which the two groups have existed separately, viz. from the end of October to the end of January. The following is a summary of the reports of the two groups for the quarter mentioned:

Collections handled by the Duma groups
(*in rubles*)

	Total collections	From *non*-workers	From workers	Number of workers' groups
1) By the R.S.D.L. group . .	6,173.00	71.31	6,101.69	719
2) By the S.D. group	2,212.78	765.80	1,446.98	94*

These bare figures give us a remarkably striking picture of the *organisational* contacts and of the whole life of the two Duma groups. The number of workers' groups which addressed the Duma group of liquidators during the quarter is almost *one-eighth* of the number that addressed the Duma group of Party men.

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* The above figures cover the period only up to January 21, 1914 (from the time the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group was formed, i.e., from the end of October 1913).

We consider it our duty to quote fuller figures from the calculations made by Comrade V.A.T. for the whole period beginning from the formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group to June 1914.

The following are the figures (in rubles) of the collections (for relief for comrades in prison or in exile, etc.), which, according to reports in the Marxist and liquidationist newspapers, were handled by the respective Duma groups between October 1913 and June 6, 1914:

	Total collections	From *non*-workers	From workers	Number of workers' groups
By the R.S.D.L. group	12,891.24	828.63	12,062.61	*1,295*
By the S.D. group	6,114.87	2,828.04	3,286.83	*215*

The Russian Social-Democratic Labour group received from non-workers six per cent of the total sum collected, whereas the liquidationist ("S.D.") group received 46 per cent from this source. The number of workers' groups that addressed the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group is 85.7 per cent of the total (1,295 out of 1,510), while the number that addressed the "S.D." group is 14.3 per cent of the total.

On the other hand, the amount received by the liquidationist group from *non*-workers* is *ten times* as much as that received by the R.S.D.L. group from this source: 765 rubles as against 71 rubles. Collections from *non*-workers* received by the Party men are *one* per cent of the total sum collected (71 rubles out of 6,173 rubles). Collections from this source received by the liquidators are *thirty-four* per cent of the total sum collected (765 rubles out of 2,213 rubles).

These figures enable the general public, who are unfamiliar with the activities of the Duma groups, to weigh up exactly and give thorough thought to facts which people familiar with the life of the groups have gleaned from a thousand and one "trifles" of everyday life, namely:

that the liquidationist group (the Seven) is a group without workers.

that the liquidationist group has thirty times as many contacts with *non*-worker circles than the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group.

These facts were commented on long ago and from different angles. The liberal newspaper *Rech* rightly called the liquidationist group a group of "intellectuals", and the entire liberal press has endorsed this over and over again. Plekhanov long ago pointed out that the liquidators have taken into their ranks quite a number of petty-bourgeois opportunist elements, in addition to Mr. Potresov. The numerous contributors to liberal *newspapers* in the ranks of the liquidators and vice versa (Enzis, Yegorov, S. Novich, Y. Smirnov, Antid Oto, Nevedomsky, Lvov-Rogachevsky, Cherevanin,[220] and many others) have been named by *Put Pravdy*.

In point of social significance, the liquidators are essentially a branch of the liberal-bourgeois party, whose aim is to instil into the proletarian midst the ideas of liberal-labour policy and to *flout* the will of the majority of the organised and class-conscious workers of Russia.

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* These include collections from private persons, from abroad, and from students.

CLARITY FIRST AND FOREMOST!

(ON THE QUESTION OF UNITY)

1. PEOPLE HOLDING TWO OPINIONS

Can people obviously incapable of taking serious problems seriously, themselves he taken seriously? It is difficult to do so, comrades, very difficult! But the question which certain people cannot treat seriously is in itself so serious that it will do no harm to examine even patently frivolous replies to it.

This serious question is that of the unity of the Russian working-class movement. Contributors to *Yedinstvo* are people incapable of treating this question seriously.

Here is the first example. In issue No. 4, *Yedinstvo* has published an interview with deputy Chkheidze. The editors of *Yedinstvo* have expressed the hope that this interview will help "to unite the Russian working class". Very good. But let us see what Chkheidze has said about the organisational and tactical questions that interest the Russian workers.

Chkheidze has expressed himself as follows: "I am personally in full agreement with the views on tactics and organisation lately expounded in the press by Comrade An."

What views has Comrade An lately expounded in the press?

What, for example, has he said about the views of the Luchists, *alias* the liquidators?

An, a prominent Menshevik and opponent of Pravdism, "has lately expounded in the press" the view that "the liquidators are steering a course towards reforms", that their

views on the "underground", strikes, "uncurtailed slogans", and so forth, are inseparably connected with their general reformism; that if the workers heeded their advice, the workers in the provinces would have to refrain from organising strikes, and so forth.

These views have indicated that An is beginning to free himself from captivity to the liquidators, and we have welcomed this.

Now Chkheidze says that he is "in full" agreement with these views. We are very glad to hear it. An understanding of the nature of liquidationism and emphatic renunciation of it is the beginning of wisdom, is it not? And we would be ready to welcome deputy Chkheidze's long-delayed awakening to the role played by liquidationism as a trend.

But serious questions should be treated seriously, and it will be useful therefore to examine, not only Chkheidze's statements in *Yedinstvo*, but his actions as well.

The reply of the Social-Democratic Duma group (of which deputy Chkheidze is chairman) to the terms of unity proposed by the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group might have been of vast importance to the *cause* of unity.

That reply appeared not very long ago in *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, issue No. 2, in the form of an appeal to the workers.

In this appeal to the workers, deputy Chkheidze and his fellow-thinkers reply, among others, to the question of their attitude towards liquidationism as represented by the latter's organ, at that time *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*.

> "As for the Marxist *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*," deputy Chkheidze and his friends write, "our attitude towards it can be defined as *complete solidarity with this trend*."

Thus, in an official appeal to the workers, deputy Chkheidze has announced his "*complete solidarity*" with the trend of the liquidationist newspaper, and in the interview published in *Yedinstvo* he has stated that he is in "*full agreement*" with the views of An, who has criticised this newspaper as an organ of the reformists who are hampering the present-day working-class movement.

Is such a thing permissible? Does this indicate a serious attitude towards a serious question? Has deputy Chkheidze anything serious to say on the question of unity with the liquidators, considering that in the space of two months he has contrived to express two diametrically opposite views on the liquidators?

But, we may be told, when the "Open Reply of the Social-Democratic Group" was being drafted, deputy Chkheidze was probably not yet aware of An's views, and was therefore unable as yet to appreciate the significance of liquidationism.

Alas, this will not be in keeping with the truth, for An's article was published long before the "Open Reply" appeared.

Another thing that must be borne in mind is this.

Several days after An's articles appeared, L. M. in *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*, came out strongly in defence of the liquidators against An's criticism. And what about Chkheidze? Did he utter a single word in defence of views with which he now appears to be in "full agreement"? No. Chkheidze kept quiet, while deputy Tulyakov, a fellow-member of his group, chose that very moment to come forward as publisher of *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*....

We repeat: is it permissible for the Chairman of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma to adopt such an attitude towards a question that is agitating the broad masses of the workers and has been repeatedly discussed at meetings, conferences, etc.? Has Chkheidze made any contribution to the solution of the problem of unity? Is this not an attempt to obscure the question of unity by means of parochial diplomatic considerations designed to save the liquidators?

This is the common failing of our "uniters": they cannot give a clear answer to questions of the day; they do not themselves know what they want.

One thing is clear from their writings: they want to save the liquidators, and must therefore avoid clarity and precision in the formulation and solution of problems.

To the liquidators clarity and precision are the most dangerous things at the present time. Other articles in *Yedinstvo* bring this home to us still more forcibly.

But the workers want clarity, and they will get it, for they want to build up the unity of their organisation, not on the basis of diplomacy and equivocation, but on the basis of a precise appraisal of the political significance of the different "trends". People who have two or even more opinions on this question are poor counsellors.

Trudovaya Pravda No. 30,
July 2, 1914

Published according to
the text in *Trudovaya Pravda*

THE RESULTS OF WORKERS' PRESS DAY SUMMED UP

FROM THE REPORT PUBLISHED IN *PUT PRAVDY*

It is only now that we are able to sum up some of the results of Workers' Press Day of April 22.[221]

The second anniversary of the newspaper *Pravda* became a day of review of the Marxist forces.

On that day all class-conscious workers came to the assistance of their working-class newspapers, and hundreds and thousands of rubles were collected kopek by kopek.

The latest report on sums collected on Workers' Press Day was published only on June 14, in issue No. 15 of *Trudovaya Pravda*. Press Day lasted nearly two months.

"Better late than never," many comrades wrote, contributing their mite after April 22.

Resolutions received by the editors have been so numerous that it has been impossible to list them all, let alone publish them.

But they have had the desired effect. They have convinced us that we are on the right road, and that the vast majority of the workers have accepted the slogans of consistent Marxism.

As is well known, the liquidators proclaimed the second anniversary of the newspapers of the *Pravda* trend as Press Day for their own newspaper, too. They raised a hullaballoo at the time to prove that they had a right to participate in Press Day precisely on April 22. Already at that time they proposed federation, an equal sharing of all the money collected. April 22 showed that the liquidationist newspaper had spoken too soon about "federation" and "equality".

The workers of St. Petersburg flatly rejected the proposal for "general collections". This call on the part of the liqui-

dationist newspaper evoked a certain response only among a section of the students, and in a few factories in the provinces.

The sums obtained by general collections hardly affected the total amount of Press Day collections. *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, issue No. 34, for June 13, already attempted to compare the collections made for that newspaper with those made for *Put Pravdy*. We say an attempt, because the comparison made by *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* cannot possibly be regarded as final and complete. If we wanted to obtain such a complete comparison from *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* we should have to wait till doomsday, for it is greatly to the liquidators' advantage to quote general figures without going into a detailed analysis of the amounts, and without ascertaining the sources they came from.

Consequently, we must ourselves undertake the task of analysing the liquidators' reports.

Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta has arrived at highly gratifying conclusions, namely, (1) that the Pravdists have the backing of somewhat under three-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia, and (2) that the Pravdists predominate strongly only in St. Petersburg, whereas in the provinces the reverse is the case; there the supporters of *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* predominate.

First of all, we must make a slight addition to the figures of our total collections which *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* has quoted from *Trudovaya Pravda* of June 11. In that issue, the total figures were given up to June 1, but as *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* gives the total of its collections up to June 10, we must, to make a fair comparison, add the amounts collected from June 1 to June 10, reported in issue No. 15, of June 14. Moreover, the figures up to June 10 were not quite accurate, as certain small contributions received from the provinces were included in the figures for St. Petersburg.

After making these corrections we obtain the following final amounts, which we shall quote in the course of this article.

Collected in St. Petersburg	R. 11,680.96
" in the provinces	R. 6,325.28
" abroad	R. 104.97
Total	R. *18,111.21*

Corresponding figures for "Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta"

Collected	in St. Petersburg	R. 4,446.13
"	in the provinces	R. 6,409.12
"	abroad	R. 946.55
	Total	R. *11,801.80*

At first sight the difference is not very great and would seem to show that *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* has the backing of two-fifths of the class-conscious workers. But as soon as these figures are distributed by source, namely, contributions from workers and non-workers, the picture changes completely.

The country-wide response to the appeal by *Put Pravdy* on Workers Press Day was: *1,915 workers' groups, which collected R.16,163.71.*

The response to the appeal by *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* was: *588 workers' groups, which collected R.5,651.78.*

From non-workers, *Put Pravdy* received R.1,842.53, whereas *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* received from this source R.6,062.02, i.e., more than it received from workers.

These figures on the collections made for Workers' Press Day reveal much the same thing as the figures of the collections and groups during the period commencing January 1,1914. Of the total number of workers' groups which responded on Workers' Press Day, only a little over one-fifth responded to the liquidationist newspaper's appeal, this despite the liquidators' efforts to change the balance of forces in their favour on the eve of Workers' Press Day. In this they failed. Four-fifths of the class-conscious workers support Pravdism. This fact, deduced from the figures covering the entire period of two years that the legal newspapers have been in existence, was also *confirmed* on Workers' Press Day.

Let us now examine the situation in St. Petersburg and in the provinces. In St. Petersburg the number of collections (groups) made for the Pravdist newspaper amounted to *1,276*, and the sum collected totalled R.10,762.46. The corresponding figures for the liquidators' newspaper were *224* and R.2,306.27. The difference is so striking that even the liquidators do not dare deny that the Pravdists predom-

inate among the most advanced, energetic, organised and politically experienced proletariat of the capital city.

But they claim the provinces.

"In the provinces," wrote *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, "we see the reverse of things in St. Petersburg. In the provinces *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* alone collected *more* than the Pravdist organ."

This is a sample of *deception*, which we strongly advise our comrades, the workers, to examine very closely. What is true is true: in the provinces the Pravdists collected R.6,325.28 and the liquidators R.6,409.12. More, is it not? But please look at the following figures.

In the provinces, the Pravdist newspaper received *R.5,401.25* from *639* workers' groups and R.924.03 from non-workers.

But the liquidationist newspaper received *R.3,345.51* from *364* workers' groups and *R.3,004.89* from 78 groups of non-workers and from individuals.

Yes, in the provinces the liquidators undoubtedly *predominate*, only not among the workers, but among wealthy "friends and sympathisers".

The liquidators did a very simple thing. To prove that they "*predominate*" in the provinces they lumped the workers' kopeks with the large sums contributed by their friends among the bourgeoisie, and thereby "squashed" the Pravdists!

A clever move, perhaps, but in doing so, good gentlemen, you have not proved your preponderance in the provinces, but merely that you are no less divorced from the workers in the provinces than you are from the St. Petersburg workers.

What counts in establishing a *working-class* press and a *working-class* body is not big contributions from wealthy "friends", but the activities of the workers themselves.

The fact that in building up a working-class newspaper and a working-class body the liquidators received nearly as much from non-workers as they did from workers (R.5,115 and R.5,651) is, in our opinion, not an advantage, but a shortcoming; it is only further proof of the close connection between liquidationism and bourgeois intellectualist circles.

We, on our part, are proud that our "cast-iron reserve" consists almost entirely of kopeks from workers who, in the course of six weeks, collected over R.16,000 for their newspaper.

How was this sum made up? Workers of which trades and areas helped in one degree or another to establish a consistently Marxist newspaper?

The answer to this is given in the following table, a document highly characteristic of the present state of the working-class movement. This table shows the sums received by *Put Pravdy* from various industries (trades). The list is headed by the metalworkers, of course. Greetings to you, comrades!

	St. Petersburg		Provinces	
	Groups	Amount (rubles)	Groups	Amount (rubles)
Metalworkers	393	5,304.95	108	1,319.02
Woodworkers	116	1,014.73	24	172.10
Printers	113	966.34	37	236.47
Railwaymen	24	165.93	34	345.24
Shop assistants	59	238.11	18	132.76
Inn employees	27	107.58	3	68.73
Tailors	49	203.21	28	245.82
Tanners	36	271.50	5	23.89
Electricians	31	275.35	6	39.76
Textile workers	41	303.88	24	130.32
Municipal employees (tramway, etc.)	32	340.93	11	132.14
Builders	12	57.14	4	15.71
Plumbers	10	27.10	1	3.00
Gold- and silversmiths	29	128.45	2	16.50
Bakers	39	124.06	11	28.60
Miners	—	—	14	71.44
Workers' organisations	9	79.97	9	112.04
House painters	12	50.20	3	14.60
Sausage makers	8	31.45	2	5.63
Chemical workers	22	92.59	6	32.04
Coach builders	16	78.62	1	5.00
Confectioners	12	79.76	3	14.25
Pasteboard makers	5	13.45	—	—
Tobacco workers	12	83.63	—	—
Baku oil workers	—	—	12	83.98
Salaried employees (office and other)	38	273.11	18	123.65
Exiles	—	—	23	67.72
Servants (janitors)	12	27.90	—	—
Miscellaneous and unspecified	99	422.52	232	1,960.84
Total	1,276	10,762.46	639	5,401.25

ST. PETERSBURG

During the past few years St. Petersburg has been at the head of the working-class movement. While the proletariat in some (now few) parts of the provinces cannot yet rouse themselves from the lethargy of 1907-11, and in other parts are only just taking the first steps to fall into line with the St. Petersburg proletariat, the latter has developed tremendous activity and, like a delicate barometer, has reacted to all events of concern to the working-class movement. The St. Petersburg proletariat is in the forefront. Even *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* will scarcely attempt to deny this.

And this is how the St. Petersburg proletariat responded to Workers' Press Day.

Collections for *Put Pravdy* were made here by 1,276 groups, which gave R.10,762.46; for *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* collections were made by 224 groups, which gave R.2,306.27.

Counting by the number of groups, the liquidators in the working-class movement in St. Petersburg are supported not by one-fifth but by one-seventh of the class-conscious workers; their collections amount only to a little over one-sixth of those made by the Pravdists.

These figures show that the bulk of the St. Petersburg proletariat, which stands at the head of the working-class movement, has turned away from the liquidators and supports the old and uncurtailed slogans.

Even among the printers, that sole refuge of the liquidators among the organised workers, nearly five times as much was collected for the Pravdist press as was collected for the liquidationist press (R.966.34 for *Put Pravdy*, as against R.201.21 for *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*).

The same thing is shown by the collections among the metalworkers. Here, *Put Pravdy* collected R.5,075.49 as against R.1,283.66 collected for *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*, i.e., four times as much; during the union's existence this was confirmed by the constant defeats of the liquidators at elections, general meetings, etc.

Among other trades in St. Petersburg, the position of the liquidators is still worse. Woodworkers, for example, con-

tributed R.1,014.73 to *Put Pravdy*, but only *R.38.14** to *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*.

The liquidationist press has often proclaimed from the house-tops that only the most ignorant masses, who do not understand serious questions, follow the lead of *Pravda*. In the recently published June issue of *Nasha Zarya*, the overzealous liquidator, Mr. A. Gorev, asserts that the collections and resolutions in support of *Pravda* "come from those sections of the workers who, for the first time in the history of the Russian working-class movement, are being drawn into the sphere of interests and controversies of Social-Democracy"—from the midst of the ignorant, non-class-conscious youth and backward workers.

Do the liquidators dare include in those "sections" the metalworkers and printers, who have always been in the forefront of the working-class movement? Mr. Gorev, of course, has no evidence whatever in support of his argument, which is based entirely on subjective assumptions. Well, let him keep to them. We have however proved with the aid of irrefutable figures that even among advanced trades like the printers and metalworkers of St. Petersburg, the liquidators have the support of barely one-fifth of the workers.

Lack of space prevents us from quoting the comparative figures of the collections in all the other trades. We shall therefore quote only the total figures for these trades.

In addition to the trades already enumerated, *Put Pravdy* received R.3,700 from workers, and *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* R.500.00 (in round figures). These sums were contributed by shop assistants, tailors, tanners, textile workers, bakers, and other workers engaged in small industry.

Here, too, *Put Pravdy* received seven times as much as *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* did. Not a single trade contributed more to *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* than it did to *Put Pravdy*. Even office and other salaried employees collected R.273.11 for *Put Pravdy*, whereas for *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* the office employees and shop assistants

* We ask *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* in advance to excuse us if, in examining its reports, we omitted one or two workshops whose trades were not specified. This would not have happened had *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* tabulated its figures in greater detail.

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

combined (figures quoted by *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*) collected R.262.32. The shop assistants collected R.238.11 for *Put Pravdy*.

In addition, we give below a list of the factories that were most active in collecting funds for their workers' newspaper:

1) the Novy Aivaz Works—R.791.37 (for *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*—R.464.67); 2) the Putilov Works—R.335.46 (for *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*—R.59.38); 3) the St. Petersburg Metalworks—R.273.36 (for *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*—R.116.92); 4) the Tubing Works—R.243.80 (for *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*—R.113.41); 5) Siemens-Schuckert—R.229.26; 6) Erickson—R.228.82 (for *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*—R.55.13); 7) Perviainen—R.183.93; 8) the Old Lessner Works—R.168.30; 9) the Franco-Russian Works—R.148.82; 10) the New Lessner Works—R.116.25; 11) the Cable Works—R.112.62; 12) Siemens-Halske—R.104.30; 13) the Obukhov Works—R.91.02; 14) the Stationery Office—R.79.12 (for *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*—R.54.00).[222]

Trudovaya Pravda No. 30 and 31, July 2 and 3, 1914

Published according to the text in *Trudovaya Pravda*

THE POLISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

The fact that the Polish Social-Democratic opposition at the Brussels Conference sided with the liquidators came as a surprise to many Party people and as a shock to all of them. The Polish Social-Democratic opposition was believed to be as close to the Pravdists as the Letts were. And suddenly we and the Letts at their post against the liquidators, while the Polish Social-Democrats played us false!

What is the reason?

The reason is that there are two trends among the Polish Social-Democrats: some of them want to remove Tyszka and Rosa Luxemburg in order to continue Tyszka's policy themselves. This is a policy of unprincipled diplomacy and "playing" between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, between the Party and its liquidators. Voting for one side today, for another tomorrow. Under the guise of "impartiality", betrayal of all in turn, driving a bargain and securing "advantages and privileges" for oneself. The clauses of a federative character in the Stockholm (1906) agreement between the Polish and Russian Social-Democrats[223] were a useful weapon for this nasty policy, which Tyszka and Rosa Luxemburg were conducting with such consummate skill.

The other trend stands for a complete breakaway from the liquidators, from federalism, from "playing" the role of "pendulum" between the two conflicting sides: it stands for a sincere and close alliance with the Pravdists, with the Party.

In Brussels the former trend among the Polish Social-Democrats won the day. As a result, there can obviously be nothing but absolute mistrust on our part towards the Polish Social-Democrats. The future will show whether the other

trend will succeed in rallying itself and in raising a clear, precise and definite banner of a consistent, high-principled policy, a policy aimed, not only against the group of Tyszka but against the essence of Tyszka's methods. Needless to say, the unity of the Polish Social-Democratic proletariat is possible only on the basis of such a policy.

The forthcoming steps towards such unity will definitely reveal the true state of affairs among the Polish Social-Democrats and will thereby determine our own attitude towards them.

Written after July 7 (20), 1914

First published in 1937 in the *Lenin Miscellany XXX*

Published according to the manuscript

REPLY TO THE ARTICLE IN *LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG*[224]

Leipziger Volkszeitung, issue No. 157 for July 11, 1914, published an article over the signature of Z. L. entitled "On the Question of Unity in Russia". The writer's lack of objectivity compels us to draw the attention of the German comrades to certain facts. For the sake of graphic illustration, we quote the following table which was published in *Pravda*.*

Collections for Marxist (Pravdist) and liquidationist newspapers in St. Petersburg from January 1 to May 13, 1914

	Pravdists		Liquidators	
	Number of collections	Sum collected	Number of collections	Sum collected
Workers' groups . .	2,873	18,934.10	671	5,296.12
Total from non-workers	713	2,650.01	453	6,759.77
including:				
Student and youth groups	54	650.92	45	630.22
Groups of "adherents", "friends", etc.	42	458.82	54	2,450.60
Other groups	33	125.29	30	186.12
Individuals.	531	1,046.62	266	1,608.32
Unspecified	43	318.57	24	175.34
From abroad	10	49.79	34	1,709.17
Total . .	3,586	21,584.11	1,124	12,055.89

* See pp. 364-65 of this volume.—*Ed.*

1. We gave the exact dates for which these figures were calculated (from January I to May 13, 1914). The liquidators gave no dates. Would it be honest, in such a case, to compare facts that are incomparable and unauthentic?

2. The liquidators themselves stated and published in the press (*Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 34) that all their groups, i.e., not the workers' groups alone, totalled 948. Our statistics, on the other hand, specified that the figures 2,873 and 671 referred to workers' groups *alone*. The total number of groups *is given* in our table, and that number *does not coincide* with the number of workers' groups. Is it honest to pass this over in silence?

3. Our newspaper reported that we gave the contributions made by the workers' groups for both newspapers and that we had no information about recurrent contributions by the same groups. The information was the same for both newspapers. It is absolutely incomprehensible how any honest critic could discover an "error" here!

4. We quoted *parallel* figures, that is, figures covering the same period for both newspapers, and the information for both papers was tabulated *by the same method*.

The liquidators quoted no parallel figures at all, thus violating the most elementary and well-known rules of statistical work. Anyone who is interested in this question can easily get both newspapers and verify our information.

We are sure that no open-minded person can call the methods used by the "critic" Z. L. honest.

Leipziger Volkszeitung No. 165,
for July 21, 1914
Signed: Editors of *Pravda*

Published according to
the text in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*
Translated from the German

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NOTES

[1] The article "*Critical Remarks on the National Question*" was written by Lenin in October-December 1913 and published the same year in the Bolshevik legal journal *Prosveshcheniye* Nos. 10, 11 and 12.

The article was preceded by lectures on the national question which Lenin delivered in a number of Swiss cities—Zurich, Geneva, Lausanne and Berne—in the summer of 1913.

In the autumn of 1913 Lenin made a report on the national question at the "August" ("Summer") Conference of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. with Party workers. A resolution on the report drafted by Lenin was adopted. After the Conference Lenin started work on his article "Critical Remarks on the National Question". p. 17

[2] *Severnaya Pravda* (*Northern Truth*)—one of the names of the newspaper *Pravda*. *Pravda*—a legal Bolshevik daily published in St. Petersburg. Founded on the initiative of the St. Petersburg workers in April 1912.

Pravda was a popular working-class newspaper, published with money collected by the workers themselves. A wide circle of worker-correspondents and worker-publicists formed around the newspaper. Over eleven thousand correspondence items from workers were published in a single year. *Pravda* had an average circulation of 40,000, with some issues running into 60,000 copies.

Lenin directed *Pravda* from abroad, where he was living. He wrote for the paper almost daily, gave instructions to the editorial board and rallied the Party's best literary forces around the newspaper.

Pravda was subjected to constant police persecution. During the first year of its existence it was confiscated forty-one times, and thirty-six legal actions were brought against its editors, who served prison sentences totalling forty-seven and a half months. In the course of two years and three months *Pravda* was closed down eight times by the tsarist government, but reissued under new names: *Rabochaya Pravda*, *Severnaya Pravda*, *Pravda Truda*, *Za Pravdu*, *Proletarskaya Pravda*, *Put Pravdy*, *Rabochy*, and *Trudovaya Pravda*. On July 8 (21), 1914, on the eve of the First World War, the paper was closed down.

Publication was not resumed until after the February Revolution. Beginning from March 5 (18), 1917, *Pravda* appeared as the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. Lenin joined the editorial board on April 5 (18), on his return from abroad, and took over the

paper's management. In July-October 1917 *Pravda* changed its name frequently owing to persecution by the Provisional Government, appearing successively as *Listok Pravdy*, *Proletary*, *Rabochy,* and *Rabochy Put*. On October 27 (November 9) the newspaper began to appear under its old name—*Pravda*. p. 19

[3] *Zeit* (*Time*)—a weekly, organ of the Bund, published in Yiddish in St. Petersburg from December 20, 1912 (January 2, 1913) to May 5 (18), 1914. p. 19

[4] *Dzvin* (*The Bell*)—a monthly legal nationalist journal of Menshevik trend published in the Ukrainian language in Kiev from January 1913 to the middle of 1914. p. 19

[5] *The Black Hundreds*—monarchist gangs formed by the tsarist police to fight the revolutionary movement. They murdered revolutionaries, assaulted progressive intellectuals and organised pogroms. p. 20

[6] *Russkoye Slovo* (*Russian Word*)—a daily, published in Moscow from 1895 (the first trial issue appeared in 1894) to July 1918. Formally non-party, the paper defended the interests of the Russian bourgeoisie from a moderate-liberal platform. News was given a wide coverage in the paper which was the first in Russia to send special correspondents to all the large cities at home and to many foreign capitals. p. 20

[7] *Purishkevich, V. M.*—(1870-1920)—a big landlord and rabid reactionary (a Black-Hundred monarchist). p. 21

[8] *The Bund* (The General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland, and Russia) came into being in 1897 at the Inaugural Congress of Jewish Social-Democratic groups in Vilna. It consisted mainly of semi-proletarian, Jewish artisans of Western Russia. At the First Congress R.S.D.L.P. in 1898 the Bund joined the latter "as an autonomous organisation, independent only in respect of questions affecting the Jewish proletariat specifically". (*The C.P.S.U. in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee*, Russ. ed., Part I, 1954, p. 14.)

The Bund was a vehicle of nationalist and separatist ideas in Russia's working-class movement. In April 1901 the Bund's Fourth Congress resolved to alter the organisational ties with the R.S.D.L.P. as established by the latter's First Congress. In its resolution, the Bund Congress declared that it regarded the R.S.D.L.P. as a federation of national organisations, of which the Bund was a federal member.

Following the rejection by the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. of the Bund's demand for recognition as the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat, the Bund left the Party, but rejoined it in 1906 on the basis of a decision of the Fourth (Unity) Congress

Within the R.S.D.L.P. the Bund constantly supported the Party's opportunist wing (the Economists, Mensheviks, and liquidators), and waged a struggle against the Bolsheviks and Bolshevism. To the Bolsheviks' programmatic demand for the right of nations to self-determination the Bund contraposed the demand for autonomy of national culture. During the years of the Stolypin reaction and the new revolutionary upsurge, the Bund adopted a liquidationist stand and played an active part in the formation of the August anti-Party bloc. During the First World War (1914-18) the Bundists took a social-chauvinist stand. In 1917 the Bund supported the bourgeois Provisional Government and sided with the enemies of the Great October Socialist Revolution. During the foreign military intervention and the Civil War, the Bundist leaders made common cause with the forces of counter-revolution. At the same time a tendency towards co-operation with the Soviets became apparent among the Bund rank and file. In March 1921 the Bund dissolved itself, part of the membership joining the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in accordance with the general rules of admission. p. 23

[9] *Pale of Settlement*—districts in tsarist Russia where Jews were permitted permanent residence. p. 29

[10] *Numerus clausus*—the numerical restriction imposed in tsarist Russia on admission of Jews to the state secondary and higher educational establishments, to employment at factories and offices, and the professions. p. 29

[11] This refers to the Congress of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party held in Brünn (Austria) from September 24 to 29, 1899 (new style). The national question was the chief item on the agenda. Two resolutions expressing different points of view were submitted to the Congress: (1) the resolution of the Party's Central Committee supporting the idea of the territorial autonomy of nations, and (2) the resolution of the Committee of the South-Slav Social-Democratic Party supporting the idea of extra-territorial cultural-national autonomy.

The Congress unanimously rejected the programme of cultural-national autonomy, and adopted a compromise resolution recognising national autonomy within the boundaries of the Austrian state. (See Lenin's article "A Contribution to the History of the National Programme in Austria and in Russia", pp. 99-101 of this volume.) p. 36

[12] *J.S.L.P.* (Jewish Socialist Labour Party)—a petty-bourgeois nationalist organisation, founded in 1906. Its programme was based on the demand for national autonomy for the Jews—the creation of extra-territorial Jewish parliaments authorised to settle questions concerning the political organisation of Jews in Russia. The J.S.L.P. stood close to the Socialist-Revolutionaries, with whom it waged a struggle against the R.S.D.L.P. p. 36

[13] *The Beilis case*—a provocative trial engineered by the tsarist government in 1913 in Kiev. Beilis, a Jew, was falsely accused of having murdered a Christian boy named Yushchinsky for ritual purposes (actually, the murder was organised by the Black Hundreds). The aim of this frame-up was to fan anti-Semitism and incite pogroms so as to divert the masses from the mounting revolutionary movement. The trial excited great public feeling. Workers' protest demonstrations were held in a number of cities Beilis was acquitted. p. 37

[14] *Socialist-Revolutionaries*—a petty-bourgeois party in Russia, which came into being at the end of 1901 and beginning of 1902 as a result of a merger of various Narodnik groups and circles. The S.R.s saw no class distinctions between the proletarian and the petty proprietor, played down the class differentiation and antagonisms within the peasantry, and refused to recognise the proletariat's leading role in the revolution. Their views were an eclectic mixture of the ideas of Narodism and revisionism. In Lenin's words, they tried, to mend "the rents in the Narodnik ideas with bits of fashionable opportunist 'criticism' of Marxism." (See present edition, Vol. 9, p. 310.)

The Socialist-Revolutionaries' agrarian programme envisaged the abolition of private ownership of the land, which was to be transferred to the village commune on the basis of the "labour principle" and "equalised land tenure", and also the development of co-operatives. This programme, which the S.R.s called "socialisation of the land", had nothing socialist about it. In his analysis of this programme, Lenin showed that the preservation of commodity production and private farming on communal land would not do away with the domination of capital or free the toiling peasantry from exploitation and impoverishment. Neither could the co-operatives be a remedy for the small farmers under capitalism, as they served only to enrich the rural bourgeoisie. At the same time, as Lenin pointed out, the demand for equalised land tenure, though not socialistic, was of a progressive, revolutionary-democratic character, inasmuch as it was directed against reactionary landlordism.

The Bolshevik Party exposed the attempts of the S.R.s to pass themselves off as socialist. It waged a stubborn fight against them for influence over the peasantry, and revealed the damage their tactic of individual terrorism was causing the working-class movement. At the same time, the Bolsheviks, on definite terms, entered into temporary agreements with the Socialist-Revolutionaries to combat tsarism.

The Socialist-Revolutionary Party's political and ideological instability and organisational incohesion, as well as its constant vacillation between the liberal bourgeoisie and the proletariat, were due to the absence of class homogeneity among the peasantry. During the first Russian revolution, the Right wing of the S.R.s broke away from the party and formed the legal Labour Popular Socialist Party, whose views were close to those of the Constitu-

tional-Democrats (Cadets), while the Left wing split away and formed a semi-anarchist league of "Maximalists". During the period of the Stolypin reaction, the Socialist-Revolutionary Party suffered a complete break-down ideologically and organisationally. During the First World War most of its members took a social-chauvinist stand.

After the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, together with the Mensheviks and the Cadets, were the mainstay of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government of the bourgeoisie and landlords. The leaders of the S.R. Party—Kerensky, Avksentyev and Chernov—were members of this Cabinet. The S.R. Party refused to support the peasants' demand for the abolition of landlordism, and stood for the preservation of landlord ownership. The S.R. members of the Provisional Government authorised punitive action against peasants who had seized landed estates.

At the end of November 1917 the Left wing of the S.R. Party formed an independent party of Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, who, in an endeavour to preserve their influence among the peasant masses, formally recognised Soviet rule and entered into an agreement with the Bolsheviks. Shortly, however, they began a struggle against the Soviets.

During the years of foreign intervention and the Civil War the S.R.s carried on counter-revolutionary subversive activities. They actively supported the interventionists and whiteguards, took part in counter-revolutionary plots, and organised terroristic acts against leaders of the Soviet state and the Communist Party. After the Civil War, the S.R.s continued their anti-Soviet activities within the country and in the camp of the White émigrés. p. 38

[15] *The Polish Socialist Party* (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna)—a reformist nationalist organisation founded in 1892. Adopting the slogan of struggle for an independent Poland, the P.S.P., under Pilsudski and his adherents, carried on separatist nationalist propaganda among the Polish workers, whom they tried to divert from the joint struggle with the Russian workers against the autocracy and capitalism. Throughout the history of the P.S.P. Left-wing groups kept springing up within the party, as a result of the activities of the rank-and-file workers. Some of these groups eventually joined the revolutionary wing of the Polish working-class movement.

In 1906 the party split up into the P.S.P. Left-wing and the Right, chauvinist wing (the so-called "revolutionary faction"). Under the influence of the Bolsheviks and the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, the Left wing gradually adopted a consistent revolutionary stand.

During the First World War some of the P.S.P. Left-wing adopted an internationalist stand. In December 1918 it united with the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania to form the Communist Workers' Party of Poland (as the Communist Party of Poland was known up to 1925).

During the First World War, the P.S.P. Right wing continued its policy of national chauvinism, organising Polish legions on the territory of Galicia to fight on the side of Austro-German imperialism. With the formation of the Polish bourgeois state, the Right P.S.P. in 1919 united with the P.S.P. organisations existing on Polish territories formerly seized by Germany and Austria, and resumed the name of the P.S.P. At the head of the government, it arranged for the transfer of power to the Polish bourgeoisie, systematically carried on anti-communist propaganda, and supported a policy of aggression against the Soviet Union, a policy of conquest and oppression against Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia. Various groups in the P.S.P. who disagreed with this policy joined the Communist Party of Poland.

After Pilsudski's fascist coup d'état (May 1926), the P.S.P. was nominally a parliamentary opposition but actually it did not carry on any active fight against the fascist regime, and continued its anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda. During that period the Left-wing elements of the P.S.P. collaborated with the Polish Communists and supported united-front tactics in a number of campaigns.

During the Second World War the P.S.P. again split up. Its reactionary and chauvinist faction, which assumed the name "Wolność, Równosc, Niepodłegłość," (Liberty, Equality, Independence), took part in the reactionary Polish émigré "government" in London. The Left faction, which called itself the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists, under the influence of the Polish Workers' Party, which was founded in 1942, joined the popular front against the Nazi invaders, fought for Poland's liberation, and pursued a policy of friendly relations with the U.S.S.R.

In 1944, after the liberation of Poland's eastern territories and the formation of a Polish Committee of National Liberation, the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists resumed the name of P.S.P. and together with the P.W.P. participated in the building up of a people's democratic Poland. In December 1948 the P.W.P. and the P.S.P. amalgamated and formed the Polish United Workers' Party. p. 38

[16] *Luch* (*Ray*)—a legal daily of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg from September 16 (29), 1912 to July 5 (18), 1913. Put out 237 issues. The newspaper was maintained chiefly by contributions from the liberals. Ideological leadership was in the hands of P. B. Axelrod, F. I. Dan, L. Martov, and A. S. Martynov. The liquidators used the columns of this newspaper to oppose the revolutionary tactics of the Bolsheviks, advocate the opportunist slogan of an "open party", attack the revolutionary mass strikes of the workers, and attempt to revise the most important points of the Party Programme. Lenin wrote that Luch was "enslaved by a liberal policy" and called the paper a mouthpiece of the renegades. p. 38

[17] *Prosveshcheniye* (*Enlightenment*)—a Bolshevik, legal theoretical monthly published in St. Petersburg from December 1911 to June 1914, with a circulation of up to five thousand copies.

The journal was founded on Lenin's initiative to replace the Moscow-published *Mysl*, a Bolshevik journal which was closed down by the tsarist government. Other workers on the new journal were V. V. Vorovsky, A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova, N. K. Krupskaya and others. Lenin enlisted the services of Maxim Gorky to run the journal's literary section. Lenin directed *Prosveshcheniye* from Paris and subsequently from Cracow and Poronin. He edited articles and regularly corresponded with the editorial staff. The journal published the following articles by Lenin: "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism", "Critical Remarks on the National Question", "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", "Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity" and others.

The journal exposed the opportunists—the liquidators, otzovists, and Trotskyists, as well as the bourgeois nationalists. It highlighted the struggle of the working class under conditions of a new revolutionary upsurge, propagandised Bolshevik slogans in the Fourth Duma election campaign, and came out against revisionism and centrism in the parties of the Second International. The journal played an important role in the Marxist internationalist education of the advanced workers of Russia.

On the eve of World War I, *Prosveshcheniye* was closed down by the tsarist government. It resumed publication in the autumn of 1917, but only one issue (a double one) appeared, containing Lenin's "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" and "A Review of the Party Programme". p. 38

[18] *Bernsteinism*—an anti-Marxist trend in international Social-Democracy. It arose towards the close of the nineteenth century in Germany and bore the name of the German opportunist Social-Democrat Eduard Bernstein. After the death of F. Engels, Bernstein publicly advocated revision of Marx's revolutionary theory in the spirit of bourgeois liberalism (see his article "Problems of Socialism" and his book *The Premises of Socialism and the Tasks of Social-Democracy*) in an attempt to convert the Social-Democratic Party into a petty-bourgeois party of social reforms. In Russia this trend was represented by the "legal Marxists", the Economists, the Bundists, and the Mensheviks. p. 39

[19] Lenin refers to Stalin's article "Marxism and the National Question" published in the legal Bolshevik journal *Prosveshcheniye*, Nos. 3, 4 and 5 for 1913 under the title "The National Question and Social-Democracy". Chapter 4 of Stalin's article quotes the text of the national programme adopted at the Brünn Congress of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. p. 39

[20] *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* (*New Workers' Paper*)—a legal daily of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg from

August 1813. From January 30 (February 12), 1914 it was superceded by *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* (*Northern Workers' Paper*) and subsequently by *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* (*Our Workers' Paper*). Lenin repeatedly referred to this newspaper as the *Novaya Likvidatorskaya Gazeta* (*New Liquidationist Paper*). p. 40

21 *Cadets*—members of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the principal party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie in Russia. It was formed in October 1905 and consisted of representatives of the bourgeoisie, landlord members of the Zemstvos, and bourgeois intellectuals. Prominent leaders of the Cadets were: P. N. Milyukov, S. A. Muromtsev, V. A. Maklakov, A. I. Shingaryov, P. B. Struve and F. I. Rodichev. To mislead the masses the Cadets called themselves the "party of people's freedom", but actually they went no further than the demand for a constitutional monarchy. They considered the fight against the revolutionary movement their chief aim, and strove to share power with the tsar and the feudalist landlords. During World War I the Cadets actively supported the tsarist government's aggressive foreign policy, and during the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution they tried to save the monarchy. Holding key posts in the bourgeois Provisional Government, the Cadets pursued an anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policy. After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the Cadets came out as the avowed enemies of Soviet rule, taking part in all armed counter-revolutionary acts and campaigns of the interventionists. Living abroad as émigrés after the defeat of the interventionists and whiteguards, the Cadets continued their anti-Soviet activities. p. 41

22 Lenin obtained these figures from the statistical handbook *One-Day Census of Elementary Schools in the Empire, Made on January 18, 1911. Issue I, Part 2, St. Petersburg Educational Area. Gubernias of Archangel, Vologda, Novgorod, Olonets, Pskov and St. Petersburg*. St. Petersburg, 1912, p. 72. p. 44

23 *Dragomanov, M. P.* (1841-1895)—Ukrainian historian, ethnographer and publicist. Exponent of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalliberalism. p. 46

24 *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny* (*Social-Democratic Review*)—a journal published by the Polish Social-Democrats in close co-operation with Rosa Luxemburg in Cracow from 1902 to 1904 and from 1908 to 1910. p. 46

25 *Vestnik Yevropy* (*European Messenger*)—a monthly historico-political and literary magazine of a bourgeois-liberal trend. Appeared in St. Petersburg from 1866 to 1918. The magazine published articles against the revolutionary Marxists. p. 49

26 Lenin is referring to an article he was planning on "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination". The article was written in

February-May 1914 and published in April-June in the journal *Prosveshcheniye* Nos. 4, 5 and 6. (See pp. 393-454 of this volume.) p. 51

[27] *The International Socialist Bureau*—the Executive of the Second International set up in accordance with the decision of the Paris Congress in 1900. On December 14 (new style), 1913 the I.S.B. resolved to convene a conference "of all sections of the working-class movement in Russia" in order to ascertain existing disagreements by means of "a general exchange of opinions" with the alleged purpose of restoring unity in the R.S.D.L.P. This question was raised at a meeting of the I.S.B. on the initiative of Rosa Luxemburg with the aim of supporting the Russian liquidators who had suffered defeat in their struggle against the Bolsheviks. In connection with this decision of the I.S.B. the liquidationist *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* published a telegram from London reporting that the Bolsheviks' demand that a representative of the Social-Democratic Labour Party group in the Duma (the Six) should be sent to the interparliamentary section of the Second International was rejected at a meeting of the I.S.B. On instructions from Lenin, the representative of the Central Committee in Brussels asked. I.S.B. Secretary Huysmans what he thought of this liquidationist trick. Huysmans was obliged publicly to refute this false report of *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*. p. 52

[28] *D.*—F. I. Dan, a leader of the Menshevik liquidators. p. 52

[29] *The Six*—the Bolshevik deputies forming the Social-Democratic group in the Fourth Duma. p. 52

[30] See Note 15 for details. p. 53

[31] *L. S.* (Koltsov, L. Sedov)—pseudonyms of B. A. Ginsburg, the Menshevik liquidator. p. 53

[32] Lenin is referring to the "Resolution Concerning the Decision of the Socialist Bureau", signed by "a group of organised Marxists", published in *Proletarskaya Pravda*, issue No. 9, December 17, 1913. p. 53

[33] *The three pillars*—a term used in the legal Bolshevik press and at open, legal meetings to denote the three basic ("uncurtailed") revolutionary slogans: a democratic republic; confiscation of all landed estates; an eight-hour day. p. 54

[34] *August bloc people*—a name applied by Lenin to participants and adherents of the anti-Party August bloc, organised by Trotsky at the Conference of the liquidators held in Vienna in August 1912. The Conference was attended by representatives of the Bund, the Caucasian Regional Committee, the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region and the liquidators' groups resident abroad, namely, the

editorial boards of *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*, Trotsky's Vienna *Pravda* and the *Vperyod* group. Delegates from Russia were sent by the St. Petersburg and Moscow "sponsor groups" of the liquidators and the editorial boards of the liquidationist publications *Nasha Zarya* and *Nevsky Golos*. A representative of the *Spilki* Committee Abroad was also present. The overwhelming majority of delegates were resident abroad and out of touch with the working class in Russia.

The Conference adopted anti-Party liquidationist decisions on all questions of Social-Democratic tactics, and declared against the existence of an illegal Party. Unable to elect a Central Committee, the liquidators confined themselves to setting up an Organising Committee. The August bloc, which consisted of ill-assorted elements, began to fall apart at the Conference itself, and soon broke down completely. (For details about the August bloc see pp. 158-61 of this volume.) p. 54

[35] The term *uncurtailed slogans* refers to the three basic revolutionary slogans: a democratic republic, confiscation of all landed estates, and an eight-hour day. p. 55

[36] *Rech* (*Speech*)—a daily published in St. Petersburg from February 23 (March 8), 1906, as the central organ of the Cadet Party. Its actual editors were P. N. Milyukov and I. V. Hessen, and its close collaborators were M. M. Vinaver, P. D. Dolgorukov, P. B. Struve. The newspaper was closed down on October 26 (November 8), 1917 by the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. Later (till August 1918) it resumed publication under the names of *Nasha Rech* (*Our Speech*), *Svobodnaya Rech* (*Free Speech*), *Vek* (*Century*), *Novaya Rech* (*New Speech*), and *Nash Vek* (*Our Century*). p. 56

[37] *Rossiya* (*Russia*)—a reactionary, Black-Hundred daily, published in St. Petersburg from November 1905 to April 1914. In 1906 it became the organ of the Ministry of the Interior, being subsidised out of the government's secret ("reptile") funds. Lenin called *Rossiya* "a venal police rag".

Novoye Vremya (*New Times*)—daily published in St. Petersburg from 1868 to 1917. Owned by various publishers, it frequently changed its political trend. It was moderately liberal at the outset, but, after 1876, when it was published by A. S. Suvorin, it became the organ of reactionary circles of the nobility and the bureaucracy. After 1905 it became a mouthpiece of the Black Hundreds. Following the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917 the newspaper supported the counter-revolutionary policy of the bourgeois Provisional Government and hounded the Bolsheviks. It was closed down by the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet on October 26 (November 8), 1917.

Zemshchina—a Black-Hundred daily, published in St. Petersburg from June 1909 to February 1917. Organ of the extreme Right-wing deputies of the Duma. p. 57

[38] "*Grab 'em and hold 'em*"—an expression used by the Russian writer Gleb Uspensky to describe police tyranny. p. 57

[39] *Severnaya Mysl* (*Northern Thought*)—one of the names of the Left-Narodnik (Socialist-Revolutionary) legal newspaper *Zhivaya Mysl* (*Living Thought*) published in St. Petersburg twice, then three times a week, from August 1913 to July 1914. During that period the newspaper changed its name ten times: *Zavetnaya Mysl* (*Cherished Thought*), *Volnaya Mysl* (*Free Thought*), *Vernaya Mysl* (*True Thought*), etc. p. 59

[40] *Insurance campaign* refers to the struggle which developed in connection with the elections to the insurance agencies. The campaign started in the autumn of 1912 following the introduction by the tsarist government on June 23, 1912, of a workers' insurance law affecting only twenty per cent of the workers. The Bolsheviks used these elections for revolutionary propaganda and launched a campaign for the winning over of legal workers' organisations and legal workers' associations. By combining legal and illegal activities, the Bolsheviks succeeded in winning influence in the insurance bodies. Elections to the Insurance Board were held in March 1914, and a workers' group on insurance affairs was formed under the Board, which recognised as its official organ the Bolshevik journal *Voprosy Strakhovania* (*Insurance Questions*). p. 59

[41] Lenin is referring here to the *Joint Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee and Party officials*, held in the village of Poronin on September 23-October 1 (October 6-14), 1913, and called, for reasons of secrecy, the "August" ("Summer") Conference. The resolution on "The Narodniks" referred to here was drafted by Lenin. (See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 429-31.) p. 59

[42] On *June 3* (*16*), *1907* the tsar issued a manifesto dissolving the Second Duma and modifying the electoral law. The new law considerably increased the representation of the landlords and the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie in the Duma, and made great cuts in the number of peasants' and workers' representatives, which was small enough as it is. This was a gross violation of the Manifesto of October 17, 1905 and the Fundamental Law of 1906 by which no laws could be passed by the government without approval by the Duma. The Third Duma, which was elected on the basis of this law and met on November 1 (14), 1907, was a Black-Hundred-Octobrist Duma.

The coup d'état of June 3 ushered in the period of the Stolypin reaction. p. 60

[43] *Zavety* (*Behests*)—a legal literary and political monthly of a Socialist-Revolutionary trend, published in St. Petersburg from April 1912 to July 1914. p. 60

[44] *Trotsky, L. D.* (1879-1940)—a bitter enemy of Leninism. During the years of reaction and the new revolutionary upswing, he took what was virtually a liquidator stand under the guise of "non-factionalism". In 1912 he organised the anti-Party August bloc. During the First World War he took a centrist stand. Joined the Bolshevik Party on the eve of the October Socialist Revolution, but continued his factional activity. In 1918 he opposed the signing of the Peace of Brest. In 1920-21 he opposed Lenin's policy on the trade unions and the trade union movement. In 1923 he led the opposition against the general line of the Party. The Communist Party denounced Trotskyism as a petty-bourgeois deviation within the Party and defeated it ideologically and organisationally. In 1927 Trotsky was expelled from the Party. In 1929 he was deported from the U.S.S.R. for anti-Soviet activity and subsequently deprived of Soviet citizenship. p. 61

[45] *Tyszka, J.* (1867-1919)—a prominent leader of the Polish and German labour movement. During the years of reaction Tyszka denounced the liquidators, but on a number of occasions took a conciliatory stand towards them. In 1912 he came out against the decisions of the Prague Conference. Lenin sharply criticised Tyszka's activities during that period. During World War I Tyszka took an Internationalist stand. In 1918 he helped to found the Communist Party of Germany and was elected Secretary of its Central Committee. He was murdered in a Berlin prison in 1919. p. 61

[46] This paragraph is a comment on Kautsky's letter published in *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the German Social-Democrats, No. 339, December 24, 1913 (new style), dealing with the report of the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau and reprinted in Russian in the newspaper *Proletarskaya Pravda*, issue No. 12, December 20, 1913 (old style). Kautsky's letter was a reply to Rosa Luxemburg's letter to *Vorwärts*. p. 63

[47] See Note 15. p. 63

[48] *Vorwärts*—a daily newspaper, central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party. In accordance with a decision of the Halle Congress of the Party, it was published in Berlin from 1891 as a continuation of the newspaper *Berliner Volksblatt* issued since 1884 under the name of *Vorwärts. Berliner Volksblatt*. F. Engels used the columns of this paper to combat all manifestations of opportunism. In the late nineties, after the death of Engels, *Vorwärts* was controlled by the Right wing of the Party and regularly published articles by opportunists. The paper was tendentious in reporting the struggle against opportunism and revisionism within the R.S.D.L.P., and supported the Economists, and subsequently, after the split in the Party the Mensheviks. During the years of reaction *Vorwärts* published Trotsky's slanderous articles, but did not give Lenin and the Bolsheviks any opportunity to refute them and give an objective appraisal of the true state of affairs within the Party.

During World War I *Vorwärts* took a social-chauvinist stand. After the Great October Socialist Revolution it carried on anti-Soviet propaganda. Ceased publication in 1933. p. 64

[49] *Dyen* (*The Day*)—a daily newspaper of a liberal-bourgeois trend, published in St. Petersburg from 1912. Among its contributors were Menshevik liquidators, who took over complete control of the paper after February 1917. Closed down by the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet on October 26 (November 8), 1917. p. 72

[50] *Russkaya Mysl* (*Russian Thought*)—a monthly journal of the liberal bourgeoisie published in Moscow from 1880. After the 1905 Revolution it became the organ of the Right wing of the Cadet Party. During that period Lenin called the *Russkaya Mysl* "*Chernosotennaya Mysl*" (*Black-Hundred Thought*). The journal closed down in the middle of 1918. p. 72

[51] Lenin is referring to *Osvobozhdeniye* (*Emancipation*), the fortnightly journal of the bourgeois liberals, published abroad from 1902 to 1905 and edited by P. B. Struve. In January 1904 it became the organ of the liberal-monarchist *Osvobozhdeniye* League. Later the *Osvobozhdeniye* people formed the core of the Cadet Party. p. 74

[52] Lenin is referring to the decisions of the All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (the Fifth Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.) and the January Plenum of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1910.

The *Fifth All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.* was held in Paris on December 21-27, 1908 (January 3-9, 1909). It was attended by 16 voting delegates: 5 Bolsheviks, 3 Mensheviks, 5 Polish Social-Democrats and 3 Bundists. The Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. was represented by Lenin, who made a report at the Conference on "The Present Moment and the Tasks of the Party", as well as speeches on the Social-Democratic group in the Duma, on the organisational and other questions. At this Conference the Bolsheviks waged a struggle against the two types of opportunism within the Party—the liquidators and the otzovists. On a motion by Lenin the Conference denounced liquidationism and called upon all Party organisations to fight resolutely against any attempts to liquidate the Party.

For an appraisal of the Conference's decisions see Lenin's articles "On the Road" and "The Liquidation of Liquidationism". (See present edition, Vol. 15, pp. 345-55, 452-60.)

The *Plenum of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P.* was held on January 2-23 (January 15-February 5), 1910 in Paris. It was convened despite Lenin, with the help of Trotsky's secret allies—Zinoviev, Kamenev and Rykov. Besides the Bolsheviks, it was attended by representatives of all sections and group, as well as by representatives of the national Social-Democratic organisations. In opposition to Lenin's plan of a rapprochement with the pro-Party Mensheviks (the Plekhanovites) for the purpose of fighting liqui-

dationism, the conciliators, secret Trotskyists, demanded that all groups should be dissolved and that the Bolsheviks should unite with the liquidators and Trotskyists. The conciliators preponderated at the meeting and were able to get a number of anti-Leninist decisions adopted. Only after Lenin's insistent demands did the Plenum adopt a resolution condemning liquidationism and otzovism. p. 74

[53] See Note 34. p. 75

[54] The Copenhagen Congress of the Second International was held on August 28-September 3 (new style), 1910. Following the discussion of the Czech-Austrian split, the Congress declared against the "Bundist-nationalist" principles of the Czech separatists. p. 76

[55] *Zemstvos*—local self-government bodies, dominated by the nobility, set up in the central regions of tsarist Russia in 1864. Their powers were restricted to purely local economic affairs (hospital and road building, statistics, insurance, etc.), their activities being controlled by the provincial governors and the Ministry of the Interior, who could veto any decisions the government found undesirable. p. 82

[56] *F. D.*, *Gamma*, *L. M.*, *Em-El*, *Rakitin*—pseudonyms of Mensheviks, viz. *F. D.*—F. I. Dan; *Gamma* and *L. M.*—L. Martov (Y. O. Tsederbaum); *Em-El*—M. Y. Lukomsky, and *Rakitin*—V. Levitsky (V. O. Tsederbaum). p. 91

[57] *The Vperyod group*—an anti-Party group including otzovists, ultimatumists, god-builders, and empirio-monists (adherents of the reactionary, idealistic philosophy of Mach and Avenarius), organised abroad in December 1909 and headed by A. Bogdanov and G. Alexinsky. It had several small circles, consisting mostly of intellectuals, in Paris, Geneva and Tiflis. In Lenin's words, the views of the *Vperyod* group were "a caricature of Bolshevism". With no support among the workers, the group fell apart in 1913. For further details about this group see pp. 487-93 of this volume. p. 93

[58] *The Seven*—seven Menshevik liquidator deputies forming part of the Social-Democratic group in the Fourth Duma. p. 96

[59] *An*—pseudonym of N. N. Jordania, leader of the Caucasian Mensheviks. p. 96

[60] *Nasha Zarya* (*Our Dawn*)—a legal monthly of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg from 1910 to 1914. The liquidators' centre in Russia formed around this journal. p. 98

[61] The reference is to *Byelorussian Socialist Hromada*—a nationalist organisation which came into being in 1902 under the name of

"Byelorussian Revolutionary Hromada". It defended the interests of the Byelorussian bourgeoisie, landlords and kulaks, denied the revolutionary class struggle, and tried to keep the Byelorussian people away from the Russian revolutionary working class. These attempts met with no support among the working masses of the Byelorussian people. In the national question, the Hromada stood for "cultural-national autonomy". After the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917 the Hromada supported the policy of the bourgeois Provisional Government. Following the October Socialist Revolution it split up into three counter-revolutionary groups who joined the whiteguards and foreign interventionists in an active struggle against the Soviets.

Dashnaktsutyun—a bourgeois-nationalist party founded in the early nineties of the nineteenth century in Turkish Armenia with the aim of liberating the Armenians from the Turkish yoke. The party was a bourgeois-democratic conglomerate of representatives of various classes. Alongside the bourgeoisie, a prominent place in it was occupied by the national intelligentsia, as well as by peasants and workers unaffected by Social-Democratic propaganda, and part of the lumpenproletariat forming the zinvors squads.

On the eve of the 1905-07 Revolution this party transferred its activities to the Caucasus and aligned itself with the Socialist-Revolutionaries. The party's Left wing formed the Young Dashnaktsutyun group, which joined the S. R. Party in 1907.

The activities of the Dashnaktsutyun were of an anti-popular nature. Its nationalist propaganda was greatly detrimental to the internationalist education of the proletariat and the masses of Armenia and the entire Transcaucasia.

After the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917, the Dashnaks supported the policy of the bourgeois Provisional Government. After the October Socialist Revolution they entered into a counter-revolutionary bloc with the Mensheviks, S.R.s and Musavatists against the Bolsheviks. In 1918-20 the Dashnaks stood at the head of the bourgeois-nationalist counter-revolutionary government of Armenia. Their action was designed to convert Armenia into a colony of the foreign imperialists and a stronghold of the Anglo-French interventionists and Russian whiteguards in their struggle against the Soviet government. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and with the help of the Red Army, the working people of Armenia overthrew the Dashnak government in November 1920. With the victory of the Soviets, the Dashnaktsutyun organisations in Transcaucasia were smashed and liquidated.

Georgian Socialists-Federalists—a bourgeois-nationalist party founded in April 1906, demanded national autonomy for Georgia within the framework of the Russian bourgeois-landlord state. During the period of reaction, the Socialists-Federalists became open opponents of the revolution. In concert with the Mensheviks and anarchists, this party tried to smash the united international front of the working people of Transcaucasia against tsarism and

capitalism. After the Great October Socialist Revolution the S.F.s, together with the Georgian Mensheviks, the Dashnaks and Musavatists, organised a counter-revolutionary bloc, which was supported by the Germano-Turkish, and later, by the Anglo-French interventionists p. 101

[62] *Stolypin's agrarian policy* aimed at using the kulaks as a bulwark of the regime in the countryside. The tsarist government issued a Ukase on November 9 (22), 1906 regulating the peasants' withdrawal from the communes and the establishment of their proprietary rights on the allotment lands. After its approval, with slight modifications by the Duma and the Council of State, this Ukase became known as the Law of June 14, 1910. Under this Stolypin law (which got its name from P. A. Stolypin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers) the peasant was free to withdraw from the village commune, take possession of his allotment on a proprietorship basis, and sell it. The rural community was obliged to give the peasants who withdrew from the commune an allotment of land in one place (an *otrub*, homestead). The Stolypin reform speeded up the development of capitalism in the countryside and the process of differentiation among the peasantry, and sharpened the class struggle in the village.

The Stolypin reform is characterised and evaluated in a number of works by Lenin, notably in his *The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907*. (See present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 217- 429.) p. 102

[63] *Pugachovism*—a non-scientific term used by bourgeois historians for the peasant uprising of 1773-75 led by Yemelyan Pugachov. p. 102

[64] *Manilov*—a character in Gogol's *Dead Souls*, whose name has become a synonym for unprincipled philistinism, sentimentality and day-dreaming. p. 102

[65] The reference is to the book *Statistics of Landownership for 1905. Returns for Fifty Gubernias of European Russia*. St. Petersburg. Published by the Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of the Interior, 1907. p. 104

[66] *Russkoye Bogatstvo* (*Russian Wealth*)—a monthly journal published in St. Petersburg from 1876 to 1918. In the early nineties it passed into the hands of the liberal Narodniks headed by N. K. Mikhailovsky. A group of publicists formed around the journal, who eventually became prominent members of the Socialist-Revolutionary, the "Popular Socialist" and Trudovik parties in the Duma. In 1906 it became the organ of the semi-Cadet Labour Popular Socialist Party. p. 105

[67] *Nikolai—on*—pseudonym of N. F. Danielson, an ideologist of liberal Narodism in the eighties and nineties of the last century. p. 105

[68] *Mazeppa, J. S.* (1644-1709)—Hetman of the Ukraine in 1687-1709. For a number of years conducted treasonable negotiations with the king of Poland and subsequently with the king of Sweden for the secession of the Ukraine from Russia. In 1708 he openly sided with Charles XII. After the defeat of the Swedes at Poltava in 1709, Mazeppa escaped to Turkey with Charles XII. p. 109

[69] *Stolypin, P. A.* (1862-1911)—an extreme reactionary, Chairman of the Council of Ministers in 1906-11. His name is associated with the suppression of the first Russian revolution (1905-07) and the ensuing period of harsh political reaction. p. 114

[70] *Octobrists*—members of the "Union of October Seventeenth" Party formed in Russia after the promulgation of the tsar's Manifesto of October 17, 1905. It was a counter-revolutionary party, representing the interests of the big bourgeoisie and landlords who had gone over to capitalist forms of ownership. Its leaders were the well-known industrialist and Moscow house-owner A. I. Guchkov, and the big landowner M. V. Rodzyanko. The Octobrists wholly supported the home and foreign policies of the tsarist government. p. 114

[71] *Vekhists*—participants of the symposium *Vekhi* (*Landmarks*)—a collection of articles by prominent Cadet publicists representing the counter-revolutionary liberal bourgeoisie: N. A. Berdayev, S. N. Bulgakov, M. O. Herschensohn, A. S. Izgoyev, B. A. Kistyakovsky, P. B. Struve and S. L. Frank. Issued in Moscow in the spring of 1909.

In articles on the Russian intelligentsia the Vekhists tried to malign the revolutionary-democratic traditions of the Russian nation's finest sons, among them V. G. Belinsky and N. G. Chernyshevsky. They vilified the revolutionary movement of 1905 and thanked the tsarist government for having saved the bourgeoisie from "the fury of the people" "with its bayonets and jails". The symposium called upon the intelligentsia to serve the autocracy. Lenin compared the *Vekhi* programme in philosophy and journalism with that of the Black-Hundred newspaper *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*, and called the symposium "an encyclopaedia of liberal renegacy", "nothing but a flood of reactionary mud poured on democracy". (See present edition, Vol. 16, p. 453.) p. 114

[72] See Note 39. p. 118

[73] *Trudoviks* (the Trudovik group)—a group of petty-bourgeois democrats in the Russian Duma consisting of peasants and intellectuals of a Narodnik trend. The Trudovik group was formed in April 1906 of peasant deputies to the First Duma.

The Trudoviks demanded abolition of all social-estate and national restrictions, democratisation of rural and urban self-government, and universal franchise in Duma elections. Their agrarian programme was based on the Narodnik principles of

"equalised" land tenure, all the state, crown, and church lands being united in a national land fund, inclusive of all privately owned lands whose size exceeded the established labour norm; the owners of lands thus alienated were to receive compensation. Lenin pointed out in 1906 that the typical Trudovik was a peasant who "is not averse to a compromise with the monarchy, to settling down quietly on his *own* plot of land under the bourgeois system; but at the present time his main efforts are concentrated on the fight against the landlords for land, on the fight against the feudal state and for democracy." (See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 229.)

In the Duma the Trudoviks vacillated between the Cadets and the Social-Democrats. This vacillation was conditioned by the very class nature of the petty proprietors—the peasants. Since the Trudoviks to a certain extent represented the peasant masses, the Bolsheviks in the Duma pursued the tactic of agreement with them on various issues for joint struggle against tsarism and the Cadets. In 1917 the Trudovik group merged with the "Popular Socialist" Party and actively supported the bourgeois Provisional Government. After the October Socialist Revolution the Trudoviks sided with the bourgeois counter-revolution. p. 119

[74] *Popular Socialists*—a petty-bourgeois party formed in 1906 from the breakaway Right wing of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. Their political views were close to those of the Cadets. After the February Revolution of 1917 the P.S.s supported the bourgeois Provisional Government, and after the October Socialist Revolution they joined forces with the counter-revolution to fight the Soviets. p. 119

[75] Lenin is referring to the *conference of the extended Editorial Board of* "*Proletary*" held in Paris on June 8-17 (21-30), 1909, and attended by nine members of the Bolshevik Centre (elected by the Bolshevik group of the Fifth [London] Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907), headed by Lenin, and by representatives of the St. Petersburg, Moscow regional and Urals organisations.

The meeting was called to discuss the conduct of the otzovists and ultimatumists. It dealt with the following questions: (1) otzovism and ultimatumism; (2) god-building tendencies among the Social-Democrats; (3) the attitude to Duma activities among other fields of Party work; (4) the tasks of the Bolsheviks in the Party; (5) the Party school being set up abroad (on Capri); (6) agitation for a Bolshevik congress or Bolshevik conference separate from the Party; (7) the breakaway of Comrade Maximov, and other questions.

In the chair was Lenin, who spoke on the main items of the agenda. Otzovism and ultimatumism at the meeting were represented and defended by A. Bogdanov (Maximov) and V. Shantser (Marat). Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov and Tomsky took a conciliatory stand.

The meeting condemned otzovism and ultimatumism as being "liquidationism inside out". The Capri "Party" school organised by the otzovists was declared to be "the centre of the breakaway faction". A. Bogdanov refused to accept the rulings of the extended editorial board of *Proletary* and was expelled from the Bolshevik organisation.

The meeting also condemned god-building and resolved to wage a determined struggle against it by exposing its anti-Marxist character. (See present edition, Vol. 15 "Conference of the Extended Editorial Board of *Proletary*".) p. 121

[76] *Ilyin*—a pseudonym of Lenin. His book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism. Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy* appeared in 1909 under the pseudonym of VI. Ilyin. p. 122

[77] *God-building*—a philosophical trend, hostile to Marxism, which arose in the period of the Stolypin reaction among a section of the Party intellectuals, who had departed from Marxism after the defeat of the Revolution of 1905-07 . The "god-builders" (A. V. Lunacharsky, V. Bazarov, and others) advocated the creation of a new "socialist" religion, attempting to reconcile Marxism with religion. At one time they were joined by Maxim Gorky.

The reactionary nature of god-building was revealed by Lenin in his book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and in his letters to Gorky during February-April 1908 and November-December 1913. p. 124

[78] *Veteran*—P. I. Stučka, one of the oldest leaders of the Social-Democratic movement. p. 125

[79] This refers to the *Conference of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and Party workers* held on September 23-October 1 (October 6-14), 1913 in the village of Poronin, near Cracow. For reasons of secrecy it was called the "August" ("Summer") Conference. p. 125

[80] *Marxism and Liquidationism. A Symposium of Articles on the Fundamental Issues of the Modern Labour Movement. Part II* appeared in 1914, published by Priboi, the Party's publishing house. Lenin's manuscript plan for this publication list the articles he thought should be included in this symposium, and mentions the various issues of the newspapers from which these articles were to be taken (Lenin changed the headings of some of the articles for the symposium). According to this plan, the symposium was to be in two parts, whose contents were announced in the newspaper *Put Pravdy* No. 42 for March 21, 1914.

Part I of the symposium did not appear. Several dozen copies of Part II, which the publishers were late in taking delivery of from the printers, were confiscated. The bulk of the edition, however, was distributed.

Part II of the symposium contained, in addition to the Preface dated February 1914 and Concluding Remarks, fourteen articles by Lenin, namely: "The Legal Party and the Marxists", "A Liberal Labour Party Manifesto", "How P. B. Axelrod Exposes the Liquidators", "The Separatism of the Bund", "Marxism and Reformism", "The Liberal Bourgeoisie and Reformism", "Liberal Blindness", "A Necessary Explanation", "Economic and Political Strikes", "A Talk on 'Cadet-Eating'", "The Nature and Significance of Our Polemics Against the Liberals", "The Liberal Bourgeoisie and the Liquidators", "The Working Class and Its Press", and "Material on the History of the Formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Group in the Duma".

The latter article has a supplement specially written for the symposium—an article entitled "How the Workers Responded to the Formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Group in the Duma". (See pp. 536-43 of this volume.) In June 1914, Lenin, in a footnote to this article (see p. 542 of this volume), gave new figures concerning monetary contributions to the Marxist and liquidationist newspapers made through the Duma groups. p. 126

[81] See Note 52. p. 126

[82] See Note 71. p. 129

[83] Lenin refers to *The Economico-Statistical Handbook*, *Issue VII. Vegetable and Fruit Cultivation in Moscow Uyezd*. Moscow, 1913. p. 132

[84] *Shcheglovitov*, *I. G.* (1861-1918)—a big landlord, extreme reactionary. Minister of Justice from 1906 to 1915. Pursued a Black-Hundred Policy and openly subjected the law courts to control by the police authorities. Was one of the organisers of the military tribunals, the trial of the Social-Democratic members of the Second and Fourth Dumas, the Beilis case, etc. The term "Shcheglovitov justice" became generic for legal frame-up and tyranny in tsarist Russia. p. 137

[85] See Note 39. p. 138

[86] *Metallist*—weekly organ of the Metalworkers' Trade Union published in St. Petersburg from September 26 (October 9) 1911 to June 12 (25), 1914. Forty-five issues were put out. Till 1913 the Union's Executive and the Editorial Board were controlled by the liquidators, but after the re-election of the Union's Executive in May 1913 control of the Union and the journal passed over to the Bolsheviks. Issues No. 7 (31), No. 8 (3-2) and No. 10 (34) for 1913 published the article by Lenin "Metalworkers' Strikes in 1912". M. S. Olminsky, A. Y. Badayev, and G. I. Petrovsky were contributors to the journal. *Metallist* was closely linked with the working-class masses and played an important part in rallying them around the Bolshevik Party. The tsarist government perse-

cuted the journal. Several of its issues were seized by the police; and after issue No. 24 the journal was suspended for four months. For reasons of censorship the journal changed its name several times to *Kuznets* (*The Smith*), *Nadezhda* (*Hope*), *Yedinstvo* (*Unity*), *Nash Put* (*Our Way*), etc.

Lenin is referring to the editorials in the journals *Nash Put* No. 20 for August 11, 1911 and *Metallist* No. 3 for October 27, 1911. p. 140

[87] *Russkiye Vedomosti* (*Russian Recorder*)—a newspaper published in Moscow from 1863 onwards. Expressed the views of the moderate liberal intelligentsia. In the eighties and nineties writers of the democratic camp contributed to it (among them V. G. Korolenko, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Gleb Uspensky) and the paper published articles by liberal Narodniks. In 1905 it became the organ of the Right wing of the Constitutional-Democrats. Lenin commented on the fact that *Russkiye Vedomosti* was an unusual combination of "*Right* Cadetism and Narodnik overtones". (See present edition. Vol. 19, p. 135.) In 1918 the paper was closed down together with other counter-revolutionary newspapers. p. 143

[88] *Saltychikha* (*Saltykova, D. I.*) (1730-1801)—a landowner, notorious for her brutal treatment of her serfs. She was responsible for the death of 139 peasants. The name Saltychikha became a synonym for bestial treatment of the peasants by the feudalist squirearchy. p. 148

[89] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1955, p. 236. p. 149

[90] Lenin is referring to the *Sixth* (*Prague*) *All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.* held in Prague on January 5-17 (18-30), 1912, which virtually played the role of a Party congress.

Over twenty Party organisations were represented at the Conference, which was also attended by representatives of the Editorial Board of the Central Organ *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the Editorial Board of *Rabochaya Gazeta*, the Committee of the Organisation Abroad, and the Transport Group of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. With the exception of two pro-Party Mensheviks, the delegates were Bolsheviks. Among the delegates were G. K. Orjonikidze of the Tiflis organization, S. S. Spandaryan of Baku, Y. P. Onufriev of St. Petersburg, and F. I. Goloshchokin of Moscow. The Committee of the Organisation Abroad was represented by N. A. Semashko, and the Transport Group of the C.C. by I. A. Pyatnitsky.

Lenin represented the Editorial Board of the Central Organ.

The Conference was conducted by Lenin, who, at the opening, spoke on the constitution of the Conference, made reports on the current situation and the tasks of the Party, and the work of the International Socialist Bureau, and took part in the debates on the work of the Central Organ, the tasks of the Social-Democrats

in combating famine, on the organisational question, the work of the Party organisation abroad, and other questions. Lenin drafted resolutions on all the important questions standing on the agenda.

Lenin's report on "The Tasks of the Party in the Present Situation" and the corresponding resolution of the Conference gave a profound analysis of the political situation within the country, and showed that revolutionary sentiment among the masses was running high. The Conference emphasised that the task of the conquest of power by the proletariat, who led the peasantry remained that of a democratic revolution in Russia.

The most important task of the Conference was to rid the Party of the opportunists. Its resolutions on "Liquidationism and the Group of Liquidators" and on "The Party Organisation Abroad" were of tremendous significance in point of principle and practice. The liquidators were grouped around two legal journals—*Nasha Zarya* and *Dyelo Zhizni*. The Conference declared that, "by their behaviour, the *Nasha Zarya* and *Dyelo Zhizni* group had placed themselves irretrievably beyond the pale of the Party". The liquidators were expelled from the R.S.D.L.P. The Conference condemned the activities of the anti-Party groups abroad—the Menshevik *Golos* group, the *Vperyod* group and the Trotskyists. The existence abroad of a united Party organisation working for the Party under the control and guidance of the Central Committee was recognised as an absolute necessity by the Conference, which pointed out that the groups abroad "which do not submit to the Social-Democratic centre in Russia, that is, the Central Committee, and which introduce disorganisation by establishing special contacts with Russia over the head of the C.C. cannot speak on behalf of the R.S.D.L.P." These resolutions played a tremendous role in strengthening the unity of the Marxist party in Russia.

One of the highlights of the Conference was the question of participation in the Fourth Duma election campaign. The Conference stressed that the chief task of the Party at the elections and of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma itself was socialist class propaganda and the organisation of the working class. Basic minimum-programme demands for a democratic republic, an eight-hour day, and confiscation of all landed estates were advanced by the Conference as the Party's principal election slogans.

The Conference adopted a resolution on "The Character and Organisational Forms of Party Work", endorsed the changes in the Party Rules proposed by Lenin, confirmed *Sotsial-Demokrat* in its status of the Party's Central Organ, elected a Central Committee of the Party, and set up a Russian Bureau of the Central Committee.

The Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. played an outstanding part in building up the Bolshevik Party, a party of a new type. It summed up the entire historical phase of the Bolsheviks' struggle against the Mensheviks, and consolidated the Bolsheviks' victory. The Menshevik liquidators were expelled from the Party. The

local Party organisations rallied around the decisions of the Conference, which strengthened the Party as an all-Russia organisation. The political line and tactics of the Party under the conditions of a new revolutionary upswing were laid down. Purged of the opportunists, the Bolshevik Party took the lead in the new powerful upsurge of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. Of great international significance, the Prague Conference gave the revolutionary elements in the parties of the Second International an example of determined struggle against opportunism, which it conducted to the extent of a complete organisational break with the opportunists. p. 158

[91] See Note 20. p. 159

[92] *Yezhov*—the Menshevik liquidator S. O. Tsederbaum. p. 159

[93] *Against two of the* "*pillars*", i.e., against the Bolshevik slogans of a democratic republic and confiscation of all landed estates. p. 160

[94] Lenin is referring to the speech made by the millionaire merchant A. S. Salazkin, President of the Nizhni-Novgorod Fair and Exchange Committee, at a special meeting of the Committee held on August 16 (29), 1913 in connection with the visit to the Fair of Prime Minister Kokovtsov. On behalf of all Russia's merchants Salazkin urged upon Kokovtsov the "vital necessity" of radical political reforms on the basis of the tsar's Manifesto of October 17, 1905, and expressed the desire of the commercial and industrial world "to take a direct part in the affairs of public self-government and state organisation".

Lenin repeatedly referred to this speech in his articles. (See "The Russian Bourgeoisie and Russian Reformism", "The Merchant Salazkin and the Writer F. D." and "Questions of Principle in Politics", present edition, Vol. 19.) p. 167

[95] *Otrub peasants*—those who received an *otrub* (a homestead). Under Stolypin's Law of November 9, 1906, the village communes were obliged to endow the peasants leaving the commune with an allotment in one place. p. 168

[96] *The National Equality Bill* (official title of the "Bill for the Abolition of All Disabilities of the Jews and of all Restrictions on the Grounds of Origin or Nationality") was drafted by Lenin for the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Fourth Duma. This Bill was to have been introduced in the Duma, apparently in connection with the discussion of the Ministry of the Interior's budget.

In publishing this Bill on behalf of the R.S.D.L. group, Lenin considered it a point of honour on the part of the Russian workers to support it with tens of thousands of signatures and declarations. "This," said Lenin, "will be the best means of consolidating *complete* unity, amalgamating all the workers of Russia, irrespective

of nationality. (See the article "National Equality", pp. 237-38 of this volume.) p. 172

[97] Lenin is referring to the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region held on January 13-26 (January 26-February 8), 1914, in Brussels.

Lenin, who took an active part In organising and conducting the Congress, carried on a busy pre-congress correspondence with the Bolsheviks of Latvia and went to Berlin and Paris to meet them to settle questions pertaining to preparations for the Congress, its composition, the possible outcome of the struggle at the Congress, etc. At the Congress Lenin made a report on the Lettish Social-Democrats' attitude to the R.S.D.L.P. and the split in the Duma group, and took part in the meeting of the Bolshevik delegates, whom he helped with the drafting of resolutions. On the evening of January 12 (25), 1914, the day before the Congress, Lenin gave a lecture on the national question to the Congress delegates in Brussels, in which he expounded the theory and tactics of Bolshevism in the national question. Lenin called upon the Marxists of Latvia to strengthen real, not imaginary, unity of the Party, and defend its ranks against the vacillators and the liquidators, who were openly betraying the cause the working class.

Lenin drew extensively upon the resolutions of the Fourth Congress of the Lettish Social-Democrats in his struggle against the liquidators and Trotskyists. (See the articles in this volume: "The Lettish Workers and the Split in the Social-Democratic Group In the Duma", "The 'August' Fiction Exposed", "The Liquidators and the Lettish Working-Class Movement" and others.) As a result of the stiff struggle against conciliatory tendencies waged at the Congress by Lenin and the Lettish Bolsheviks they succeeded in securing the withdrawal of the Lettish Social-Democrats from the August bloc. Lenin called this withdrawal a "deadly blow" at the Trotskyist alliance. p. 178

[98] Lenin is quoting from the resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Lettish Social-Democrats "with the unavoidable changes", necessitated by the tsarist censorship. Thus, instead of the words "Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region", he uses the phrase "representatives of all the Lettish Marxist workers"; instead of "the R.S.D.L.P." he uses the words "the Marxist body"; instead of "the Fifth All-Russia Conference of 1908 and the Plenum of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. of 1910" he says "the all-Russia representative body of the Marxist of December 1908 and January 1910'; instead of "C.C. of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region" he uses the phrase "their leading body". p. 178

[99] Lenin is referring to the decisions of the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. of 1907, the Fifth All-Russia Conference of the

R.S.D.L.P. of 1908 and the Plenum of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. of 1910. p. 178

[100] The article."Socialism Demolished Again" was published in the journal *Sovremenny Mir* No. 3 in March 1914.

Sovremenny Mir (*Contemporary World*)—a literary, scientific and political monthly published in St. Pbtersburg from October 1906 to 1918. Its chief contributors were Mensheviks, including Plekhanov. Bolsheviks contributed to the journal during the bloc with the Plekhanovites and at the beginning of 1914. During World War I (1914-18) it became the organ of the social-chauvinists. p. 187

[101] Leo Tolstoy speaks of this in his preface to N. Orlov's picture album "Russian Muzhiks", 1909. p. 189

[102] *Zhizn* (*Life*)—a literary, scientiflc and political journal published in St. Petersburg from 1897 to 1901. Among its contributors were "legal Marxists" (M. I. Tugan-Baranovsky and P. B. Struve), and leading writers and critics (Gorky, Chekhov, Veresayev, Skitalets, Bunin, and Solovyov [Andreyevich]). Karl Marx's *Wages, Price and Profit* was published in this journal, as well as Lenin's articles "Capitalism in Agriculture (Kautsky's Book and Mr. Bulgakov's Article)" and "Reply to Mr. P. Nezhdanov". (See present edition, Vol. 4.) p. 192

[103] See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1959, p. 179. p. 194

[104] The article "*Forms of the Working-Class Movement* (*The Lockout and Marxist Tactics*) " was written in connection with the lockout declared by St. Petersburg factory owners on March 20 (April 2), 1914.

In March 1914 mass cases of poisoning occurred among the women employed at the Treugolnik Mills in St. Petersburg, evoking general indignation and strikes of protest on the part of the workers in the capital. The St. Petersburg factory owners retorted by a lockout, as many as 70,000 workers being thrown out in a single day. The aim was to provoke the workers to a mass strike, the better to be able to make short work of the labour movement. But, led by the Bolsheviks, the workers refused to be provoked. In view of the lockout, the declaration of a mass strike was considered inadvisable, and *Pravda* called the workers to other forms of struggle, such as mass meetings at the factories and revolutionary demonstrations in the streets. The St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. issued a leaflet calling upon the workers to take part in a demonstration to be held on April 4, 1914, the second anniversary of the Lena shootings.

On the appointed day the newspaper *Put Pravdy* came out with an editorial by Lenin—"Forms of the Working-Class Movement". This article, in a form adapted to the conditions of the

existing censorship, urged the workers to carry out the decisions of the Cracow meeting of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. held jointly with Party workers, which mentioned the need to discover "new forms of struggle against lockouts" and to replace political strikes "by revolutionary meetings and revolutionary street demonstrations". Lenin laid special emphasis on the importance of revolutionary demonstrations as a time-tested form of struggle.

The workers responded to the Party's appeal with a powerful revolutionary demonstration, which was reported by all the bourgeois newspapers. Reporting the demonstration, the liquidationist *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* made no mention of the leaflets distributed by the St. Petersburg Committee, and even attacked Lenin's article "Forms of the Working-Class Movement". At a time when the workers were engaged in a sharp struggle against the capitalists, the liquidators called upon the workers to "calm down" and attacked the Bolsheviks for organising the revolutionary demonstration. Lenin called the liquidators' behaviour monstrous, and described their attitude to the Fourth of April demonstration as a typical instance of wrecking illegal work. In the report of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Brussels Conference, Lenin devoted a good deal of space to exposing the activities of the liquidators. (See pp. 495-535 of this volume.) p. 209

[105] The reference is to the *Conference of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. with Party workers*, called, for reasons of secrecy, the "February" meeting. It was held in Cracow on December 26, 1912-January 1, 1913 (January 8-14, 1913), and was attended by Lenin, N. K. Krupskaya, the Bolshevik deputies to the Fourth Duma A. Y. Badayev, G. I. Petrovsky, N. R. Shagov, and others. The illegal Party organisations of St. Petersburg, the Moscow region, the South, the Urals and the Caucasus were represented at the meeting. In the chair was Lenin, who made reports on the subjects "The Revolutionary Upswing, Strikes and the Tasks of the Party", "The Attitude to the Liquidators and Unity" (the texts of these reports are missing), drafted and edited all the resolutions, and wrote the "Report" of the meeting by the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P.

The Conference adopted decisions on the most important issues of the working-class movement, namely: the tasks of the Party in connection with the new revolutionary upswing and the growing strike movement, the building-up of the illegal organisation, the work of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma, the insurance campaign, the Party press, the national Social-Democratic organisations, the struggle against liquidationism, and the unity of the proletarian party.

The Conference's decisions played an important part in strengthening the Party and its unity, in extending and consolidating the Party's contacts with the masses, and evolving new forms of Party work adapted to the rising wave of the working-class movement. p. 211

[106] See Note 40. p. 211

[107] *Batrak*—the Socialist-Revolutionary, M. Zatonsky. p. 213

[108] The MS. "*On the Question of National Policy*" is the draft of a speech that was to have been delivered in the Fourth Duma by the Bolshevik deputy G. I. Petrovsky. As the Left deputies were expelled from the Duma on April 22 (May 5), 1914 and suspended for fifteen sessions (cf. pp. 274-76 of this volume for further details) this speech was not delivered. Parts of the MS. of this draft speech are missing. Appropriate footnotes are given in such cases. p. 217

[109] *Grazhdanin* (*The Citizen*)—a reactionary newspaper published in St. Petersburg from 1872 to 1914. From the eighties of the nineteenth century it was the organ of the extreme monarchists. It existed largely on government subsidies. From 1906 it appeared as a weekly. p. 217

[110] *Progressists*—a political group of the Russian liberal-monarchist boureeoisie, which, during the elections to the Duma and within the Duma, attempted to unite elements of the various bourgeois-landlord parties and groups under the nag of "non-partisanship".

In November 1912 the Progressists formed an independent political party with the following programme: a moderate constitution with restricted electoral qualiflcations, petty reforms, a responsible Ministry, i.e., a government accountable to the Duma, and suppression of the revolutionary movement. Lenin pointed out that in composition and ideology the Progressists were "*a cross between Octobrists and Cadets*" and described the programme of the Progressist Party as being a national-liberal programme.

During World War I the Progressists became more active and demanded a change of military leadership, the gearing of industry to the needs of the front, and a "responsible Ministry" with the participation of representatives of the Russian bourgeoisie. After the February bourgeois-democratic revolution some of the party's leaders were members of the bourgeois Provisional Government. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the Progressist Party waged an active struggle against the Soviet government. p. 218

[111] *Shevchenko, Taras* (1814-1861)—the great Ukrainian poet, painter and revolutionary democrat, who fought against tsarism and serfdom. His works, which are imbued with hatred of the oppressors, reflected the struggle of the revolutionary Ukrainian peasantry and the conditions of life of the Ukrainian people. p. 219

[112] *Kievskaya Mysl* (*Kiev Thought*)—a daily of a bourgeois-democratic trend published in Kiev from 1906 to 1918. Until 1915 the paper came out with a weekly illustrated supplement, and from 1917 in two editions, morning and evening. p. 221

[113] *Polish koło*—an association of Polish deputies in the Duma. The leading core of this association in the First and Second Dumas

were the national-democrats—members of the reactionary nationalist party of Polish landlords and bourgeoisie. On all basic questions of Duma tactics the Polish koło supported the Octobrists. p. 224

[114] This article is an abridged version of the reply of the Party's Central Committee, which agreed to attend the Conference called by the International Socialist Bureau. This reply is the "official report" of the C.C. to the Executive of the I.S.B., of the dispatch of which Lenin informed C. Huysmans, the Secretary of the I.S.B., in his letter dated January 18-19 (January 31-February 1), 1914. (See pp. 74-81 of this volume.) p. 233

[115] The reference is to the Sixth (Prague) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. held in January 1912. (See Note 90.) p. 233

[116] *Winter hiring*—the hiring of peasants for summer work, practised by the landlords and kulaks during the winter, when the peasants were badly in need of money and would accept extortionate terms. p. 242

[117] *Decembrists*—Russian revolutionaries of the nobility who fought against serfdom and the autocracy. They raised an armed revolt on December 14, 1825. p. 245

[118] *Kolokol* (*The Bell*)—a political journal published under the motto *Vivos voco!* (I call on the living!) by A. I. Herzen and N. P. Ogaryov from July 1, 1857 to April 1865 in London, and from May 1865 to July 1867 in Geneva. Published as a monthly and for some time as a fortnightly, it put out 245 issues. In 1868 the journal was published in French (15 issues in all) with an occasional supplement in Russian. *Kolokol*, which was published in 2,500 copies and circulated throughout Russia, exposed the tyranny of the autocracy, the extortion and embezzlement practised by the government officials, and the ruthless exploitation of the peasants by the landlords. *Kolokol* addressed revolutionary calls to the masses rousing them to the struggle against the tsarist government and the ruling classes.

The leading organ of the revolutionary uncensored press and the precursor of the working-class press in Russia, *Kolokol* played an important role in the development of the general democratic and revolutionary movement, in the struggle against the autocracy and serfdom. p. 245

[119] Belinsky's *Letter to Gogol* was written in July 1847, and first published in 1855 in Herzen's *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (*The Pole Star*). p. 246

[120] *Narodism*—a petty-bourgeois trend in the Russian revolutionary movement, which arose between the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century. The Narodniks were out to abolish the autoc-

racy and hand over the landed estates to the peasantry. At the same time they denied the tendency towards the development of capitalist relations in Russia, and consequently, considered the peasantry, not the proletariat, the principal revolutionary force. They regarded the village commune as the embryo of socialism. In their endeavour to rouse the peasants to the struggle against the autocracy, the Narodniks went into the villages, "among the people", but they met no support there.

In the eighties and nineties the Narodniks adopted a policy of conciliation with tsarism. They expressed the interests of the kulaks and waged a fierce struggle against Marxism. p. 246

[121] The reference is to the *First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.* held in Minsk on March 1-3 (13-15), 1898. The Congress was attended by nine delegates from six organisations: the St. Petersburg, Moscow, Ekaterinoslav and Kiev Leagues of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, from the Kiev *Rabochaya Gazeta* group and from the Bund. The Congress elected a Central Committee of the Party, confirmed *Rabochaya Gazeta* as the Party's official organ, published a Manifesto, and proclaimed the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad the foreign representative of the Party.

The First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was significant in that it adopted decisions and a Manifesto proclaiming the establishment of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, thereby playing an important role in the matter of revolutionary propaganda. The Congress, however, did not adopt a Programme or draft Party Rules. The Central Committee elected at the Congress was soon arrested and the printing-press of *Rabochaya Gazeta* was seized, thus making it impossible for the Congress to unite and establish contact between the various Marxist circles and organisations. There was no single central leadership and no single line in the work of the local organisations. p. 248

[122] *St. Petersburg Rabochy Listok* (*St. Petersburg Workers' Bulletin*)—organ of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Two issues appeared—No. 1 in February (dated January) 1897 mimeographed in Russia in 300—400 copies, and No. 2 in September 1897 in Geneva in printed form.

The newspaper put forward the task of combining the economic struggle of the working class with broad political demands, and stressed the need for creating a workers' party. p. 248

[123] *Rabotnik* (*The Worker*)—a non-periodical symposium published abroad in 1896-99 by the Union of Russian Social-Democrats under the editorship of the Emancipation of Labour group. The symposium was issued on the initiative of Lenin who, during his journey abroad in 1895, made arrangements with Plekhanov and Axelrod for the symposium to be edited and published by the Emancipation of Labour group. On his return to Russia Lenin did much to organise support for this publication and have articles and cor-

respondence sent to it from Russia. Before his arrest in December 1895 Lenin had prepared and forwarded to *Rabotnik* an obituary article "Frederick Engels' and several items of correspondence, some of which (those from A. A. Vaneyev, M. A. Silvin, and S. P. Shesternin) were published in No. 1-2 and No. 5-6 of the symposium.

Altogether six issues of *Rabotnik* were published in three books and 10 issues of *Listok Rabotnika*. p. 249

[124] *Vperyod* (*Forward*)—an illegal Bolshevik weekly published in Geneva from December 22, 1904 (January 4, 1905) to May 5 (18), 1905. Eighteen issues were put out. Its organiser, manager and guiding spirit was Lenin. Other members of the editorial board were V. V. Vorovsky, A. V Lunacharsky, and M. S. Olminsky. All correspondence, including that of the local committees in Russia, was handled by N. K. Krupskaya. Lenin defined the content of the newspaper in the following words: "The line of *Vperyod* is the *line of the old* '*Iskra*'. In the name of the old *Iskra*, *Vperyod* resolutely combats the new *Iskra*." (See present edition, Vol. 8, p. 130.) Besides leading articles, Lenin wrote numerous paragraphs for *Vperyod* and rewrote items of correspondence. Some articles were written by Lenin in co-operation with other members of the editorial board (Vorovsky, Olminsky and others). Over sixty articles and minor items by Lenin were published in *Vperyod*. Some issues of the newspaper, e.g., Nos. 4 and 5, which dealt with the events of January 9 (22), 1905, and the beginning of the revolution in Russia, were written almost entirely by Lenin. His articles in *Vperyod* were often reprinted in the local Bolshevik press and published in the form of leaflets and pamphlets.

The outstanding role which the newspaper played in combating Menshevism, reasserting the Party principle, formulating and elucidating the issues posed by the rising revolution, and fighting for a congress to be convened, was acknowledged in a special resolution of the Third Party Congress which recorded a vote of thanks to the editorial board. By a decision of the Third Congress the newspaper *Vperyod* was superceded by *Proletary*.

Proletary (*The Proletarian*)—an illegal Bolshevik weekly, Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P., founded in accordance with a resolution of the Third Party Congress. By a decision of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee of April 27 (May 10), 1905, Lenin was appointed Editor-in-Chief. *Proletary* was published in Geneva from May 14 (27) to November 12 (25), 1905. Twenty-six issues were put out.

Proletary carried on the line of the old, Leninist, *Iskra* and preserved complete continuity with the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod*.

Lenin wrote about ninety articles and paragraphs for the newspaper. His articles determined the paper's political character, its ideological message and Bolshevik trend. Lenin bore a heavy burden of the work on the newspaper as manager and editor, receiving regular assistance from the other members of the editorial board—Vorovsky, Lunacharsky and Olminsky.

Proletary reacted immediately to all important events in the Russian and international labour movement, and waged a relentless struggle against the Mensheviks and other opportunist revisionist elements. The newspaper did a great deal to propagandise the decisions of the Third Party Congress, and played an important part in rallying the Bolsheviks organisationally and ideologically. *Proletary* consistently advocated revolutionary Marxism and formulated all the basic issues involved in the rising revolution in Russia. The newspaper highlighted the events of 1905 and roused the broad masses of the working people to the struggle for the victory of the revolution.

Proletary gave a good deal of attention to the local Social-Democratic organisations. Some of Lenin's articles in this newspaper were reprinted by the local Bolshevik newspapers and distributed in leaflet form. *Proletary* suspended publication shortly after Lenin's departure for Russia early in November 1905. The last two issues (Nos. 25 and 26) were edited by Vorovsky, but even these contained several articles by Lenin, which were published after his departure from Geneva. p. 251

[125] *Novaya Zhizn* (*New Life*)—the first legal Bolshevik newspaper, published as a St. Petersburg daily from October 27 (November 9) to December 3 (16), 1905. Lenin took over the editorship upon his return to Russia early in November. *Novaya Zhizn* was virtually the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. Closely associated with the paper were V. V. Vorovsky, M. S. Olminsky, A. V. Lunacharsky and others. Maxim Gorky was an active contributor to the paper, to which he gave substantial financial aid.

Issue No. 9 of the paper for November 10, 1905 carried Lenin's first article "The Reorganisation of the Party", which was followed by more than ten articles from his pen. The paper's circulation reached 80,000, despite constant persecution. Fifteen of the paper's twenty-seven issues were confiscated and destroyed. It was banned after publication of issue No. 27 on December 2 (15), No. 28 being put out illegally. p. 251

[126] *Nachalo* (*The Beginning*)—a legal Menshevik daily published in St. Petersburg from November 13 (26) to December 2 (15), 1905. Sixteen issues came out. The editors and publishers of the newspaper were D. M. Herzenstein and S. N. Saltykov, and among the contributors were P. B. Axelrod, F. I. Dan, L. G. Deutsch, N. I. Yordansky, L. Martov, and A. N. Potresov. p. 251

[127] *Volna* (*The Wave*)—a legal Bolshevik daily published in St. Petersburg from April 26 (May 9) to May 24 (June 6), 1906. Twenty-five issues were put out. Beginning with No. 9 for May 5 (18), 1906 (after the close of the Fourth Congress and Lenin's arrival from Stockholm) the paper was virtually edited by Lenin. Some twenty-five articles by him were published in the paper. Others on the editorial staff were V. V. Vorovsky and M. S. Olminsky. *Volna* was subjected to frequent police repressions and was eventually

closed down by the tsarist government. Its place was taken by the legal Bolshevik paper *Vperyod*.

Ekho (*The Echo*)—a legal Bolshevik daily published in St. Petersburg from June 22 (July 5) to July 7 (20), 1906 in place of the suppressed newspaper *Vperyod*. Fourteen issues were put out. Actually the paper was edited by Lenin, whose articles appeared in every issue. Lenin also conducted the "Book and Magazine" section.

Almost every issue of the newspaper was subjected to repressions, twelve of the fourteen issues being seized by the police. p. 251

[128] *Narodnaya Duma* (*People's Duma*)—a Menshevik daily published in St. Petersburg in March-April 1907 in place of the suppressed *Russkaya Zhizn*. Twenty-one issues of the paper came out. p. 251

[129] Lenin is referring to the tsarist bureaucracy's attitude towards the democratic Zemstvo personnel—doctors, technicians, statisticians, teachers, agriculturists, etc., called the "third element" in a speech made in 1900 by the Samara Deputy Governor-General Kondoidi. The expression was subsequently used in literature to designate the Zemstvo democratic intelligentsia. p. 256

[130] Lenin refers to the *International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart* (the Seventh Congress of the Second International) held in August 1907. One of the principal items on the agenda was the colonial question, over which a sharp struggle was waged at the Congress. The opportunist section of the Congress moved a resolution justifying colonial conquests. The Dutch "socialist" Van Kol made a statement to the effect that in future socialists should go to "the savage peoples" not only with machines and other achievements of culture, but with weapons in their hands. The opportunist draft resolution was supported by the majority of the German delegation. Only as a result of the efforts of the Russian and Polish socialists, a small part of the German, French and British socialists, as well as of all the socialists of the small countries owning no colonies, was this resolution defeated, and amendments adopted to it which practically changed its whole tenor. The resolution on the colonial question adopted by the Congress plainly and unreservedly condemned every kind of colonial policy. p. 256

[131] *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (*Socialist Monthly*)—the chief organ of the German opportunists and a mouthpiece of international revisionism, published in Berlin from 1897 to 1933. During World War I (1914-18) it took a social-chauvinist stand. p. 257

[132] *The theory of "marginal utility"* was advanced by the Austrian school at the end of the nineteenth century in opposition to the Marxian theory of labour value. This school was a species of vulgar political economy, but unlike some of the latter's exponents, it determined the value of a commodity, not simply by its utility, but by the utility of the final (marginal) unit of stock of the given

commodity which satisfies the least urgent needs of a person. In substance, the theory of "marginal utility", like the sum total of the economic and philosophical tenets of the Austrian school was merely an attempt to gloss over the essential nature of exploitation under capitalism. p. 260

[133] *Otzovism* (from the Russian word meaning "withdrawal")—an opportunist trend which arose among the Bolsheviks after the defeat of the Revolution of 1905-07. The otzovists believed that under the prevailing conditions of reaction the Party should conduct only illegal activities. They demanded the withdrawal of the Social-Democratic deputies from the Duma, and refused to take part in the work of the trade unions and other mass legal and semi-legal organisations. The otzovists' policy tended towards divorcing the Party from the masses and turning in into a sectarian organisation. p. 266

[134] *Pochin* (*Initiative*)—a journal of the Narodnik-liquidationist trend run by a group of Socialist-Revolutionaries. Only a single issue was published in June 1912 in Paris. p. 266

[135] In the autumn of 1904 the editors of the Menshevik *Iskra* published a letter stating that the chief task of the Social-Democrats was to bring "organised pressure to bear on the bourgeois opposition" by presenting demands to the government through the bourgeois liberals and Zemstvo people. This "Zemstvo campaign plan" clearly revealed the Mensheviks' lack of faith in the proletariat's strength, in its ability to wage a political struggle and take independent revolutionary action. From organisational opportunism the Mensheviks passed on to tactical opportunism, the "Zemstvo campaign plan" being the first step in this direction. A detailed analysis and criticism of the Mensheviks' plan is given by Lenin in "The Zemstvo Campaign and *Iskra*'s Plan". (See present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 495-516.) p. 269

[136] *The Bulygin Duma*—a consultative Duma, the law for the convocation of which was drafted by A. G. Bulygin, Minister of the Interior, on instructions from the tsar. The tsar's Manifesto introducing the State Duma and the regulations governing the elections to it was published on August 6 (19), 1905. Only landlords, capitalists and a limited number of peasant householders were granted the right to vote in the Duma elections. The Bolsheviks boycotted the Bulygin Duma. The government failed to convene it—it was swept away by the October general political strike.

The Witte Duma—the First Duma convened on April 27 (May 10), 1906, under the regulations drawn up by S. Y. Witte, Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Four hundred and seventy-eight deputies were elected to the First Duma, of whom 179 were Cadets, 63 Autonomists (including members of the Polish koło, and Ukrainian, Estonian, Lettish,

Lithuanian and other bourgeois-national groups), 16 Octobrists 105 non-party people, 97 Trudoviks and 18 Social-Democrats. Thus, over a third of the seats in the Duma were held by the Cadets.

The high point of the First Duma deliberations was the agrarian question. Two basic agrarian programmes were put forward in the Duma—the Cadets' Bill signed by 42 deputies, and the Trudoviks' Bill known as the "Bill of the 104". In contrast with the Trudoviks, the Cadets wanted to preserve landlordism, allowing alienation with compensation "at a fair price" of only those landed estates which were chiefly cultivated by the peasants' implements or were rented out.

The First Duma was dissolved by the tsarist government on July 8 (21), 1906. p. 270

[137] *Tovarishch* (*Comrade*)—a bourgeois daily published in St. Petersburg from March 15 (28), 1906 to December 30, 1907 (January 12, 1908). Though formally the organ of no particular party it was in fact the mouthpiece of the Left Cadets. Mensheviks also contributed to the paper. p. 270

[138] *Za Partiyu* (*For the Party*)—a paper of the pro-Party Mensheviks and conciliators published non-periodically in Paris from April 16 (29), 1912, to February 1914. Five issues were published. Among the contributors were G. V. Plekhanov, S. A. Lozovsky, and A. I. Lyubimov. The paper, which was circulated chiefly abroad, expressed the views, in the main, of the Paris group of Plekhanovites. p. 271

[139] *Buryanov, A. F.*—member of the Fourth Duma, and one of the Menshevik Seven. p. 271

[140] *Vperyod* groups—see Lenin's article "The Vperyodists and the *Vperyod* group". (See pp. 487-93 of this volume.) p. 272

[141] See Note 33. p. 273

[142] At the session of the Duma on April 22 (May 5), 1914, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group (the Bolshevik Six), the Social-Democratic Group (the Mensheviks) and the Trudoviks moved that the budget debates should be adjourned pending the adoption of the Bill on the freedom of speech for deputies.

This motion was defeated by a majority of the Duma. Thereupon the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and Trudoviks used obstructionist tactics during the speech of Goremykin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Rodzyanko, Chairman of the Duma, retorted by suspending all the Social-Democrats and the Trudoviks from the Duma for fifteen sessions. In reply St. Petersburg and Moscow workers held strikes of protest. p. 274

[143] This refers to the Fifth Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (the All-Russia Conference 1908). (See Note 52.) p. 277

[144] *Proletary* (*The Proletarian*)—a Bolshevik illegal newspaper, published from August 21 (September 3), 1906 to November 28 (December 11), 1909 under the editorship of Lenin. Fifty issues were published. Active collaborators on the paper were M. F. Vladimirsky, V. V. Vorovsky, I. F. Dubrovinsky, A. V. Lunacharsky, and others. The first twenty issues were prepared for the press and set up in Vyborg, but as conditions for the publication of an illegal organ in Russia became extremely difficult, further publication was transferred abroad (Geneva and Paris).

Proletary was virtually the Central Organ of the Bolsheviks. Most of the work on the paper was done by Lenin, several of whose articles appeared in almost every issue. *Proletary* published over a hundred articles and paragraphs by Lenin on the most important issues of the revolutionary struggle of the working class. The paper dealt with tactical and political questions of general interest and carried reports on the activities of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., the decisions of conferences and plenary meetings of the C.C., letters of the C.C. on various questions of Party activities, and a number of other documents. A supplement to No. 46 of the newspaper published a report on the conference of the extended Editorial Board of *Proletary*, as well as the resolutions of that meeting, which was held in Paris on June 8-17 (21-30), 1909. The newspaper was in close touch with the local Party organisations.

During the years of the Stolypin reaction *Proletary* played an outstanding role in safeguarding and strengthening the Bolshevik organisations, in fighting the liquidators, otzovists, ultimatumists and god-builders.

Publication of the newspaper ceased in 1910 in accordance with the decision of the January Plenum of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. p. 279

[145] *Bill on the Equality of Nations and the Safeguarding of the Rights of National Minorities* was drafted by Lenin for introduction to the Fourth Duma by the Bolshevik group.

The plan of the Bill was outlined in a letter to S. G. Shahumyan, dated May 6 (19), 1914, from Lenin who attached special importance to the introduction of this Bill in the Duma. "In this way", he wrote, "I believe we can popularly explain the stupidity of cultural-national autonomy and *crush* the votaries of this folly once for all."

The Bill was not introduced. p. 281

[146] See Note 39. p. 286

[147] See Note 20. p. 288

[148] *V. O.*—author of the article "The Deterioration of School Education" published in *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 35, March 21, 1914. p. 291

[149] *Sovremennik* (*The Contemporary*)—a literary and political monthly published in St. Petersburg in 1911-15. A group of Menshevik liquidators, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Popular Socialists, and Left liberals formed around the journal, which had no contacts whatever with the working-class masses. A. V. Amfiteatrov played an important role in it at the beginning of its existence, and in 1913-15 it was headed by N. Sukhanov (N. N. Himmer). p. 293

[150] A reference to the wilful resignation of R. Malinovsky, a member of the R.S.D.L.P. Duma group, from the Fourth Duma. For this act of disorganisation and for deserting his post, Malinovsky was expelled from the Party. Eventually, it was discovered that Malinovsky was an agent provocateur. He was tried by the Supreme Tribunal of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee in 1918 and sentenced to be shot. p. 302

[151] *Khrustalev-Nosar, G. S.* (1877-1918)—a Menshevik lawyer. During the years of reaction and the mounting revolutionary movement he was a liquidator, and contributed to the Menshevik newspaper *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*. He resigned from the Party in 1909, and engaged in shady financial operations. p. 304

[152] *Voprosy Strakhovania* (*Insurance Question*)—a Bolshevik legal journal, published at intervals in St. Petersburg from October 1913 to March 1918. It worked not only for the achievement of workers' insurance but for the Bolshevik "uncurtailed slogans" of an eight-hour day, confiscation of the landed estates, and a democratic republic. Prominent insurance campaigners—the Bolsheviks N. A. Skripnik, P. I. Stučka, A. N. Vinokurov, N. M. Shvernik and others—contributed to the journal. p. 308

[153] *Yedinstvo* (*Unity*)—a legal newspaper published by a group of pro-Party Mensheviks headed by Plekhanov and Bolshevik-conciliators in St. Petersburg from May to June 1914. Four issues appeared. p. 309

[154] Lenin is referring to the resolution "Liquidationism and the Group of Liquidators" adopted by the Sixth (Prague) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. in January 1912. The resolution was drafted by Lenin. (See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 480-81.) p. 310

[155] *The Estimates of the Ministry of Agriculture*—a speech drafted by Lenin for delivery in the Duma by a Bolshevik deputy. It was made by G. I. Petrovsky on May 28 (June 10), 1914, during the debate on the Budget Commission report on the estimates of the Department of State Landed Properties for 1914.

The concluding part of the M.S. is missing. p. 313

[156] *Rural superintendent*—an office instituted by the tsarist government in 1889 to give the landlords more power over the peasantry. Appointed from among the local landed nobility, the rural

superintendents were vested with immense powers, juridical as well as administrative, including the right to arrest peasants, and order corporal punishment. p. 313

[157] *Council of the United Nobility*—a counter-revolutionary organisation of the feudalist landowners, which took shape in May 1906 at the First Congress of Representatives of Gubernia Assemblies of the Nobility and existed until October 1917. The organisation's main object was to protect the autocratic system, the big landed estates, and the privileges of the nobility. Lenin called the Council of the United Nobility "a council of united feudalists". The Council virtually became a semi-government body, which dictated to the government legislative measures aimed at protecting the interests of the feudalists. A considerable number of its members were members of the Council of State and of the leading centres of the Black-Hundred organisations. p. 313

[158] This refers to the "Party unity" resolution adopted at the Amsterdam Congress of the Second International in August 1904. p. 319

[159] *Der Kampf*—monthly organ of the Austrian Social-Democrats, published in Vienna from 1907 to 1934. Took an opportunist, centrist stand under the guise of Left-wing phrases.

F. A.—Friedrich Adler, leader of the Austrian Social-Democrats. p. 322

[160] *Le Peuple*—a daily, central organ of the Belgian Labour Party, published in Brussels since 1885: at present the mouthpiece of the Belgian Socialist Party. p. 323

[161] This refers to *Prosveshcheniye*. (See Note 17.) p. 327

[162] *Pro-Party Bolsheviks*—conciliators with leanings towards the liquidators. (For further details see Lenin's article "Adventurism", pp. 356-59 of this volume.)

Pro-Party Mensheviks—headed by Plekhanov, came out against the liquidators during the period of reaction. While taking a Menshevik stand, the Plekhanovites at the same time stood for the preservation and strengthening of the illegal Party organisation and therefore stood for a bloc with the Bolsheviks. Plekhanov broke the bloc with the Bolsheviks at the end of 1911. Under the guise of fighting "factionalism" and the split in the R.S.D.L.P. he attempted to reconcile the Bolsheviks with the opportunists. In 1912 the Plekhanovites, together with the Trotskyists, Bundists and liquidators, came out against the decisions of the Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. p. 330

[163] *Nozdrev*—a character in Gogol's *Dead Souls* typifying a self-assured, impudent, and mendacious person. p. 335

[164] "*Judas*" *Golovlyov*—a character in Saltykov-Shchedrin's book *The Golovlyov Family* typifying the spiritual and physical

disintegration of the historically doomed class of feudalist landlords, social parasites, treacherous hypocrites. p. 335

[165] At the December meeting of the International Socialist Bureau (held in London on December 13-14, 1913) a resolution was adopted instructing the Executive of the International Socialist Bureau to call a meeting of representatives of "all factions of the labour movement in Russia, including Russian Poland, who recognise the Party Programme or whose programme corresponds with that of the Social-Democrats, for a mutual exchange of opinions (*Aussprache*) on points of disagreement". In seconding this resolution, Kautsky, in his speech of December 14, stated that the old Social-Democratic Party in Russia was dead. It had to be re-established on the basis of the Russian workers' urge for unity. In his article "A Good Resolution and a Bad Speech", Lenin examined this resolution and called Kautsky's speech monstrous. (See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 528-30.) p. 341

[166] *The Troublous Times*—a term used in pre-revolutionary Russian historiography to denote the period of ths peasant war and the struggle of the Russian people against the Polish and Swedish intervention in the early seventeenth century.

In 1608 the Polish troops under Pseudo-Dmitry II, a henchman of the Polish landed gentry who posed as the younger son of the Russian tsar Ivan the Terrible, invaded Russia, and reached the outskirts of Moscow, where they encamped in Tushino. A government headed by Pseudo-Dmitry was formed in Tushino in opposition to the government of Moscow. Some of the Russian nobles and boyar aristocracy deserted one camp for another in an effort to keep in with the winning side. These deserters were called "Tushino turncoats". p. 346

[167] *Put Pravdy* No. 50, for March 30 (April 12), 1914 published the resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region concerning the split in the Social-Democratic group in the Fourth Duma. The resolution stressed the need for unity of the Duma Social-Democratic Group on the basis of acceptance of the Programme and Rules of the Party and the Party decisions. (See pp. 177-81 of this volume.)

In connection with this resolution of the Lettish Congress, the same issue of *Put Pravdy* published an "Open Enquiry" to the Menshevik deputies as to their attitude towards the principles advanced by the Lettish workers. This enquiry of the Bolshevik newspaper was ignored by the Mensheviks. Thereupon, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma published an "Open Letter' in *Put Pravdy* No. 63 for April 17, 1914 in which they demanded from the Mensheviks a clear and definite reply to the question put to them.

The "Open Letter" evoked an "Open Reply" by the Mensheviks, which was published in *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, May 4 (17). This reply is dealt with in the present article. p. 351

[168] Lenin is quoting the resolution of the Fifth All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.—the "All-Russia Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. (In December 1908.)" It was published by newspaper *Proletary*, Paris, 1909, p. 38. p. 353

[169] The *Svoboda* (*Freedom*) group was founded by Y. O. Zelensky (Nadezhdin) in May 1901. It called itself the "revolutionary-socialist" group, and published the journal *Svoboda* in Switzerland (of which two issues appeared—No. 1 in 1901, and No. 2 in 1902). The group also published: *Eve of the Revolution. A Review of Questions of Theory and Tactics* No. 1, a periodical *Otkitki* (*Comments*) No. 1, a programmatic pamphlet *The Revival of Revolutionism in Russia* and others. The *Svoboda* group preached the ideas of terrorism and Economism, acted in concert with the St. Petersburg Economists against *Iskra* and the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. The group ceased to exist in 1903.

The *Borba* (*Struggle*) group was formed in Paris in the summer of 1900 and consisted of D. B. Ryazanov, Y. M. Steklov, and E. L. Gurevich. The name *Borba* was adopted by the group in May 1901. In its publications the group distorted the revolutionary theory of Marxism, which it interpreted in a doctrinaire and scholastic spirit, and was opposed to Lenin's organisational principles of Party building. In view of its deviations from Social-Democratic views and tactics, its disruptive activities and lack of contact with the Social-Democratic organisations in Russia, the group was not allowed to attend the Second Congress. By a decision of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. the *Borba* group was dissolved. p. 356

[170] *V. A. T.*—initials of V. A. Tikhomirnov, a member of the *Pravda* staff. p. 363

[171] The article "*Objective Data on the Strength of the Various Trends in the Working-Class Movement*" was written by Lenin on the basis of a wide range of facts and figures, carefully collected and analysed, concerning money collections for the workers' press, which served as objective evidence of the strength of the various trends in the working-class movement in Russia. The Central Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee the C.P.S.U. has in its possession the manuscripts of Lenin's computations of the collections made by the newspaper *Pravda*, number of workers' groups united by the newspaper *Zeit* and their contributions, the computations to the table given in the article (See pp. 382-85 of this volume), and tabulated figures showing what collections were made for the various newspapers and where they were made. The original draft conspectus and a synopsis of the article are also to be found in the Archive. The figures quoted in this article were used by Lenin in subsequent articles. p. 381

[172] This refers to *Töö Hääl* (*The Voice of Labour*), an Estonian newspaper of a Pravdist trend, which appeared in Narva three times a

week from January to May 1914, and the Lithuanian weekly *Vilnis* (*The Wave*), published in Riga in 1913-14. p. 385

[173] This refers to the legal workers' newspaper *Nash Put* (*Our Way*) published in Moscow, the first issue appearing on August 25 (September 7), 1913. Lenin took an active part in the newspaper, sending his articles simultaneously to *Pravda* and *Nash Put*. The latter published a number of articles by Lenin, namely: "The Russian Bourgeoisie and Russian Reformism", "The Role of Social Estates and Classes in the Liberation Movement", "Class War in Dublin", "A Week After the Dublin Massacre", "Questions of Principle in Politics", "Harry Quelch" and others.

Other contributors to the newspaper were Maxim Gorky, Demyan Bedny, M. S. Olminsky, I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, and the Bolshevik deputies in the Fourth Duma A. Y. Badayev, F. N. Samoilov, and N. R. Shagov.

Nash Put was very popular among the workers, as many as 395 workers' groups supporting the newspaper with money contributions. The newspaper was persistently persecuted by the police and closed down on September 12 (25), 1913, after publishing 16 issues. The Moscow workers struck in protest against its suppression, but the paper was unable to resume publication. p. 385

[174] The newspaper *Trudovaya Pravda* No. 12 for June 11, 1914, published a paragraph entitled "How Does It Happen?", in which it quoted a number of instances of *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, the organ of the liquidators, reprinting, under the guise of workers, correspondence, information from the bourgeois newspapers which distorted the facts of reality in working-class life. p. 387

[175] *Sputnik Rabochego for 1914* (*Worker's Companion for 1914*)—a pocket calendar issued by the Priboi Party Publishes in December 1913, and sold out in a single day. A second revised edition was issued in February 1914. The calendar contained the article by Lenin "Strikes in Russia". (See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 534-538.) p. 387

[176] Lenin is referring to the resolution of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903 "On the Socialist-Revolutionaries"; the resolution of the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1907) on "Attitude Towards the Bourgeois Parties", the resolution of the Poronin meeting of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. on "The Narodniks". (See *The C.P.S.U. in Resolutions and Decisions of the Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee*, Russ. ed., Part I, 1954, pp. 49-50; 158-60; 316-17.) p. 388

[177] This refers to the Tenth International Congress, which was to have been held in Vienna. The question of the Vienna Congress was discussed at the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau held in December 1913. It was resolved to convene the Congress

in August 1914, to coincide with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the First International. The agenda was to have been as follows: 1) The high cost of living, 2) Imperialism and the fight against militarism—including the subordinate questions: (a) the Eastern question, (b) compulsory courts of arbitration among nations, and c) the United States of Europe; 3) Alcoholism, 4) Unemployment, 5) The position of political prisoners and exiles in Russia, and 6) Miscellanea.

The number of delegates was not to exceed the number of votes of the given country by more than sixfold. Russia had 20 votes, consequently not more than 120 delegates for both subsections of the Social-Democrats and the Left Narodniks and for the trade unions.

The question of the International Socialist Congress in Vienna was discussed at the Poronin meeting of the C.C. and Party workers. Lenin made a report on this question, and proposed that every effort be made to send a majority of Social-Democratic worker delegates to the Vienna Congress.

Election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress was practically completed by the end of July 1914, but the outbreak of war prevented the Congress from convening. p. 390

[178] *Die Neue Zeit*—theoretical journal of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1923. It was edited by K. Kautsky until October 1917, and then by H. Cunow. Some of the writings of the founders of Marxism were first published in this journal, among them K. Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and Engels's "Criticism of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891". Engels often gave pointers to the editors of *Die Neue Zeit* and criticised their deviations from Marxism. Other prominent leaders of the German and international labour movement who contributed to the journal at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries were A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, R. Luxemburg, F. Mehring, Clara Zetkin, G. V. Plekhanov and P. Lafargue. Beginning with the late nineties, after the death of Engels, the journal regularly published articles by revisionists, including a series of articles by E. Bernstein "Problems of Socialism", which launched a revisionists' campaign against Marxism. During World War I the journal took a centrist stand and supported the social-chauvinists. p. 397

[179] *Nauchnaya Mysl* (*Scientific Thought*)—a journal of a Menshevik trend, published in Riga in 1908. p. 397

[180] See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1959, p. 765. p. 399

[181] See Note 11. p. 408

[182] *L. Vl.*—L. Vladimirov (pseudonym of M. K. Sheinfinkel)—a Social-Democrat. p. 413

[183] This refers to the *Second All-Ukraine Students' Congress* held in Lvov on June 19-22 (July 2-5), 1913, to coincide with anniversary celebrations in honour of Ivan Franko, the great Ukrainian writer, scholar, public figure, and revolutionary democrat. A report, "The Ukrainian Youth and the Present Status of the Nations," was made at the Congress by the Ukrainian Social-Democrat Dontsov, who supported the slogan of an "independent" Ukraine. p. 416

[184] *Shlyakhi* (*Paths*)—organ of the Ukrainian Students' Union (nationalistic trend), published in Lvov from April 1913 to March 1914. p. 416

[185] Lenin is quoting from Griboyedov's comedy *Wit Works Woe*. p. 423

[186] *Naprzód* (*Forward*)—central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Galicia and Silesia, published in Cracow beginning with 1892. The newspaper, which was a vehicle of petty-bourgeois nationalist ideas, was described by Lenin as "a very bad, and not at all Marxist organ". p. 425

[187] This refers to the abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861. p. 433

[188] Lenin is referring to the Polish national liberation insurrection of 1863-64 against the yoke of the tsarist autocracy. The original cause of the rising was the tsarist government's decision to carry out a special recruitment aimed at removing the revolutionary-minded youth *en masse* from the cities. At first the rising was led by a Central National Committee formed by the petty-nobles' party of the "Reds" in 1862. Its programme demanding national independence for Poland, equal rights for all men in the land, irrespective of religion or birth, transfer to the peasants of the land tilled by them with full right of ownership and without redemption payments, abolition of the corvée, compensation for the landlords for the alienated lands out of the state funds, etc., attracted to the uprising diverse sections of the Polish population—artisans, workers, students, intellectuals from among the gentry, part of the peasantry and the clergy.

In the course of the insurrection, elements united around the party of the "Whites" (the party of the big landed aristocracy and the big bourgeoisie) joined it with the intention of using it in their own interests and, with the help of Britain and France, securing a profitable deal with the tsarist government.

The attitude of the revolutionary democrats of Russia towards the rebels was one of deep sympathy, the members of *Zemlya i Volya* secret society associated with N. G. Chernyshevsky trying to give them every possible assistance. The Central Committee of *Zemlya i Volya* issued an appeal "To the Russian Officers and Soldiers", which was distributed among the troops sent to suppress the insurrection. A. I. Herzen and N. P. Ogaryov published a

number of articles in *Kolokol* devoted to the struggle of the Polish people, and rendered material aid to the rebels.

Owing to the inconsistency of the party of the "Reds", which failed to hold the revolutionary initiative, the leadership of the uprising passed into the hands of the "Whites", who betrayed it. By the summer of 1864, the insurrection was brutally crushed by the tsarist troops.

Marx and Engels, who regarded the Polish insurrection of 1863-64 as a progressive movement, were fully in sympathy with it and wished the Polish people victory in its struggle for national liberation. On behalf of the German emigrant colony in London, Marx wrote an appeal for aid to the Poles. p. 433

[189] Lenin refers to W. Liebknecht's reminiscences of Marx. (See the symposium *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Moscow, 1957, p. 98.) p. 435

[190] See Marx's letter to Engels dated July 5, 1870. p. 435

[191] *The New York Daily Tribune*—an American newspaper published from 1841 to 1924. Until the middle fifties it was the organ of the Left wing of the American Whigs, and thereafter the organ of the Republican Party. Karl Marx contributed to the paper from August 1851 to March 1862, and at his request Frederick Engels wrote numerous articles for it. During the period of reaction that set in in Europe, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels used this widely circulated and at that time progressive newspaper to publish concrete material exposing the evils of capitalist society. During the American Civil War Marx's contributions to the newspaper stopped. His break with *The New York Daily Tribune* was largely due to the growing influence on the editorial board of the advocates of compromise with the slave-owners, and the papers's departure from progressive positions. Eventually the newspaper swung still more to the right. p. 439

[192] Lenin is quoting from G. V. Plekhanov's article "The Draft Programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Party" published in *Zarya* No. 4, 1902.

Zarya—a Marxist scientific and political journal published legally in Stuttgart in 1901-02 by the Editorial Board of *Iskra*. Altogether four numbers (three issues) of *Zarya* appeared: No. 1 in April 1901 (actually on March 23, new style); No. 2-3 in December 1901, and No. 4 in August 1902. The aims of the publication were set forth in the "Draft of a Declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*" written by Lenin in Russia. (See present edition, Vol. 4.) In 1902, during the disagreement and conflicts that arose on the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*, Plekhanov proposed a plan for separating the newspaper from the journal (with *Zarya* remaining under his editorship), but this proposal was not accepted, and the two publications continued under a single editorial board.

Zarya criticised international and Russian revisionism, and defended the theoretical principles of Marxism. The following articles by Lenin were published in this journal: "Casual Notes", "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism", "The 'Critics' on the Agrarian Question" (the first four chapters of "The Agrarian Question and the 'Critics of Marx'"), "Review of Home Affairs", and "The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy", as well as Plekhanov's articles "Criticism of Our Critics. Part I. Mr. P. Struve in the Role of Critic of the Marxian Theory of Social Development", "Cant versus Kant, or the Testament of Mr. Bernstein" and others. p. 443

[193] A quotation from the sketch "Abroad" by the Russian satirist Saltykov-Shchedrin. p. 448

[194] Lenin quotes an expression from *Seminary Sketches* by the Russian writer N. G. Pomyalovsky. p. 448

[195] Lenin quotes the words of a Sevastopol soldiers' song written by Leo Tolstoy. The song is about the unsuccessful operation of the Russian troops at the river Chornaya on August 4, 1855, during the Crimean War. In that action General Read commanded two divisions. p. 450

[196] Lenin is referring to the attack by the bourgeois counter-revolution against the working class and the democratic petty bourgeoisie in France, after the latter's defeat in June 1849.

The reference to 1871 is about the rising of the Paris workers on March 18, 1871, as a result of which a government of the proletarian dictatorship—the Paris Commune—was created for the first time in history. The Commune was defeated. "The entire bourgeoisie of France all the landlords, stockbrokers, factory owners, all the robbers great and small all the exploiters—united against it in savage fury. (See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 140-41.) With active aid from Bismarck, this coalition started military operations against insurgent Paris, and, on winning victory, flooded the streets of the city with the blood of the people. No less than 30,000 Communards were killed and 50,000 arrested. Many of these were executed and thousands were condemned to penal servitude or exile.

The Paris Commune is dealt with in Lenin's articles: "Plan of a Lecture on the Commune", "Lessons of the Commune", "In Memory of the Commune", *The State and Revolution*, Ch. III. (See present edition, Vols. 8, 13, 17, 25.) p. 455

[197] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1952, pp. 54-64. p. 456

[198] *The Peasant Union* (The All-Russia Peasant Union)—a revolutionary-democratic organisation, which arose in 1905. Influenced by the Socialist-Revolutionaries and liberals, the Peasant Union

displayed a half-way policy, vacillations and indecision typical of the petty-bourgeoisie. While demanding the abolition of landlordism, the Union agreed to partial compensation for the landlords. In the words of Lenin, this was "organisation, sharing, of course, in a number of peasant prejudices, and susceptible to the petty-bourgeois illusions of the peasants (just like our Socialist-Revolutionaries); but it was undoubtedly a real organisation of the masses, of 'men of the soil', unquestionably revolutionary at bottom, capable of employing genuinely revolutionary methods of struggle." (See present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 258-59.) From the very outset of its activities the Peasant Union was subject to police repression and discontinued its activities early in 1907. p. 462

[199] *L'Humanité*—a daily newspaper founded in 1904 by Jean Jaurès as the organ of the French Socialist Party. The newspaper hailed the beginning of the revolution in Russia in 1905 and expressed the sympathy of the French people "with the Russian nation, which was effecting its 1789". The newspaper organised collections in support of the Russian revolution. During the First World War (1914-18) the paper was controlled by the extreme Right wing of the French Socialist Party and took a chauvinist stand.

In 1918, Marcel Cachin, a prominent leader of the French and international labour movement, became political director and head of the newspaper. In 1918-20, the paper came out against the imperialist policy of the French Government and its sending of armed forces against the Soviet Republic. In December 1920, after the split in the French Socialist Party and the formation of the Communist Party of France, the newspaper became the latter's Central Organ.

At the beginning of World War II, in August 1939, the newspaper was banned by the French authorities and went underground. During the Nazi occupation of France (1940-44) the newspaper appeared illegally, and played a tremendous role in the liberation of France.

In the-post-war period the newspaper has been waging a ceaseless struggle for the country's national independence, for unity of working-class action, for strengthening peace and friendship among the nations, and for democracy and social progress. p. 464

[200] Lenin's telegram demanding that Martov and Dan should make a signed and open accusation and not engage in spreading dark rumours was published in the newspaper *Rabochy* No. 4, May 25, 1914. p. 476

[201] Lenin, with slight modifications, is quoting from the poem The *Man of the Forties* by the Russian poet Nekrasov. p. 481

[202] Following the slanderous anti-Bolshevik attacks by the liquidationist *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, a group of Marxists asked Plekhanov to make a statement to the International Socialist Bureau

condemning the newspaper's behaviour. Though he strongly disapproved of this behaviour, Plekhanov refused to make the required statement, thereby justifying the slanderers. Thereupon, the "Group of Marxists" published a "Statement" in the newspaper *Trudovaya Pravda* on June 5 (18), 1914, in which Plekhanov's conduct was characterised as "an act of high diplomacy". p. 482

[203] See Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, p. 121. p. 485

[204] *N. Maximov* and *A. Bogdanov*—pseudonyms of A. A. Malinovsky; *Voinov*—A. V. Lunacharsky; *Lyadov*—M. N. Mandelshtam; *S. A. Volsky*—A. V. Sokolov; *Domov*—M. N. Pokrovsky. p. 488

[205] *V. Ilyin*—V. I. Lenin. p. 489

[206] *Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P.*—the illegal newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*, published from February 1908 to January 1917. Prepared by the Bolsheviks and partially printed in Vilna at a private press, the first issue was confiscated by the tsarist Okhranka (Secret Political Police). Shortly afterwards another attempt to issue the newspaper was made in St. Petersburg, but the bulk of the edition fell into the hands of the security police. Further publication was arranged abroad. Issues Nos. 2-32 (February 1909 to December 1913) appeared in Paris, Nos. 35-58 (November 1914 to January 1917) in Geneva. Altogether fifty-eight issues were published, five of them with supplements.

According to the decision of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. elected at the Fifth (London) Congress, the Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat* consisted of representatives of the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and the Polish Social-Democrats. Actually, the paper was conducted by Lenin, whose articles were a central feature in it. Over eighty articles and paragraphs by Lenin were published in the newspaper.

Lenin fought for a consistent Bolshevik line against the Menshevik liquidators on the Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat*. Some of its members (Kamenev and Zinoviev) adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the liquidators and opposed Lenin's line. The Menshevik members of the editorial board—Martov and Dan—obstructed the work of the editorial staff of the Central Organ while at the same time openly defending liquidationism in *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*; they prevented the pro-Party Mensheviks from taking part in the work of the Central Organ. Lenin's uncompromising struggle against the liquidators led to Martov and Dan resigning from the editorial board in June 1911. From December 1911 *Sotsial-Demokrat* was edited by Lenin.

During the grim years of reaction and the period of a new upswing in the revolutionary movement *Sotsial-Demokrat* was a factor of tremendous importance in the Bolsheviks' struggle against the liquidators, Trotskyists, and otzovists for the preservation of the illegal Marxist party, and strengthening its unity and contacts with the masses.

During World War I *Sotsial-Demokrat* was the Central Organ of the Bolshevik Party, in which capacity it played a vital part in propagating Bolshevik slogans on the issues of war, peace and revolution. The newspaper published Lenin's article "The Slogan of a United States of Europe", in which for the first time he formulated the conclusion that it was possible for socialism to win initially in a few or even in a single capitalist country. The circulation of *Sotsial-Demokrat* in Russia and the reprinting of its most important articles in the local Bolshevik Papers contributed to the political enlightenment and international education of the Russian proletariat, and the preparation of the masses for the revolution.

Lenin highly appreciated the services that *Sotsial-Demokrat* rendered during World War I, and wrote later that "no class-conscious worker who wishes to *understand* the evolution of the idea of the international socialist revolution and its first victory of October 25, 1917" can dispense with a study of the articles published in it. (See present edition, Vol. 27, "Foreword to the symposium *Against the Stream*".) p. 490

[207] "*Appeal to the Ukrainian Workers*", in the Ukrainian language signed by Ocksen Lola, and published in the newspaper *Trudovaya Pravda* No. 28 for June 29, 1914, called upon the workers to unite irrespective of nation in order to fight capital and to arrange for the publication under the auspices of *Trudovaya Pravda* of a "Ukrainian Workers' Leaflet".

The "Appeal" was drafted by Lenin in Russian in the spring of 1914 and forwarded to O. N. Lola through Inessa Armand. The "Appeal" was intended for the *Miners' Leaflet*—a supplement to the newspaper *Put Pravdy*. Lenin considered it important for the "Appeal" to be issued by Lola in Ukrainian in order that a voice be raised precisely among the Ukrainian Social-Democrats calling for unity against the division of the workers by nation. The "*Ukrainian Workers' Leaflet*" was not published. p. 494

[208] *Report of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P.* exists in the shape of two (incomplete) manuscripts, one of them Lenin's, the other a handwritten copy made by N. K. Krupskaya's mother, Y. V. Krupskaya, with corrections by Lenin. Other existing manuscripts are Lenin's instructions to the C.C. delegation to the conference, namely, "Notes *Privées*", notes "Not for the Report" and letters on this question. These documents illustrate Lenin's struggle against Russian and international opportunism. The Report marks an epoch in the development of Bolshevism in the period of reaction and the years of a new revolutionary upswing.

Concerned about the victory of the Bolsheviks over all the opportunist trends and groups in the Russian working-class movement, the leadership of the Second International hastened to the assistance of these trends and groups. With this aim in view the Brussels Conference was convened, ostensibly "to exchange opinions" on the question of the possibility of restoring unity in the

R.S.D.L.P. Under the guise of establishing "peace" within the R.S.D.L.P., the leaders of the International planned the liquidation of the independent Bolshevik Party, a party of a new type, which was conducting an irreconcilable struggle against opportunism in the Russian and international labour movement.

The *Brussels "Unity" Conference*, convened by the Executive Committee of the I.S.B. in accordance with the December 1913 decision of the Bureau's meeting, was held on July 16-18, 1914. The following were represented at the Conference: the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks); the Organising Committee (Mensheviks) and its affiliated organisations (the Caucasian Regional Committee and the *Borba* group (Trotskyists)); the Duma Social-Democratic group (Mensheviks); Plekhanov's *Yedinstvo* group; the *Vperyod* group; the Bund; the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region; the Social-Democrats of Lithuania, the Polish Social-Democrats; the Polish Social-Democratic opposition; and the P.S.P. (Left wing).

The C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. sent a delegation to the Conference, consisting of Inessa Armand (Petrova), M. F. Vladimirsky (Kamsky), and I. F. Popov (Pavlov). Lenin thoroughly prepared the delegation of the C.C. for the Conference. He wrote for it the Report and detailed instructions, and supplied it with the necessary materials, documents and factual data revealing the Russian opportunists and their inspirers in their true colours.

Lenin was in the closest touch with the delegation, whose work he directed from Poronin.

From the very outset the Conference was marked by a very sharp struggle of the Bolsheviks against the Russian and international opportunists.

At Kautsky's proposal the Conference adopted the following agenda: 1. Programmatic differences; 2. Tactical differences; 3. The organisational question. Although the Conference was to have been confined only to an exchange of opinions, Vandervelde warned the delegates that the Conference would adopt decisions on all three items of the agenda. On Lenin's instructions, the C.C.'s delegation proposed that the Conference should hear reports by the delegations and the concrete terms which each of them considered essential for unity. Because of the Bolsheviks' persistence it was decided to waive the agenda and proceed to the reports on the questions at issue, and to the formulation by the delegations of concrete conditions for unity.

The highlight of the Conference was the Report of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P., as written by Lenin, which was read by Inessa Armand in French at the morning session on July 17. The leaders of the I.S.B. did not allow the full text of the Report to be read so that Armand was obliged to set forth only part of it and proceed to the terms for unity. As formulated by Lenin these terms met with indignant protests from the opportunists, Plekhanov declaring that these were not terms for unity, "but articles of a new criminal code". Martov, Alexinsky, Yonov, Semkovsky and others shouted that the report of the C.C. characterised the "intolerance

of the Leninists", that "the Leninists had no right to call themselves 'Bolsheviks'", that the "terms" were "a mockery of the International", and so on.

On behalf of the I.S.B., Kautsky proposed a resolution for the unification of the R.S.D.L.P. which affirmed that within Russian Social-Democracy there were no essential disagreements standing in the way of unity. Kautsky was supported by the Organising Committee and by Plekhanov, who violently attacked the C.C. and Lenin. Rosa Luxemburg took an erroneous stand by joining Plekhanov, Vandervelde, Kautsky and others in advocating unity between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Since the Conference was not authorised to pass resolutions, the Bolsheviks and the Lettish Social-Democrats refused to take part in the voting, but the resolution of the I.S.B, was carried by a majority. The Polish opposition, which joined the Bolsheviks and Lettish Social-Democrats at the Conference, voted for the resolution of the I.S.B.

Guided by Lenin, the Bolsheviks refused to accept the decisions of the Brussels Conference. The attempt by the Second International's opportunist leaders to liquidate the Bolshevik Party met with failure. In the sight of the international proletariat, Lenin and the Bolsheviks exposed the true aims of the leaders of the International, who wore the mask of peacemakers. For their capable and vigorous defence of the Party line, the Central Committee passed a vote of thanks to the C.C. delegation at the Brussels Conference.

At a private meeting of the liquidators, Trotskyists, Vperyodists, Plekhanovites, Bundists and representatives of the Caucasian Regional organisation held after the Brussels Conference, these groups formed a bloc against the Bolsheviks. The Brussels ("Third of July") bloc served as a hypocritical screen concealing the politically rotten position of all its participants. The bloc shortly afterwards fell apart, showing how false the policy of the Russian and West-European "uniters" of the R.S.D.L.P. was. p. 495

[209] *The Anti-Socialist Law* was introduced in Germany in 1878 by the Bismarck government with the object of combating the labour and socialist movement. The law banned all Social-Democratic Party and mass working-class organisations, and the labour press; socialist literature was confiscated, and Social-Democrats were hounded and deported. These repressions, however, did not break the Social-Democratic Party, which readjusted its activities to the conditions of illegal existence: the Party's central organ *Sozial-Demokrat* was published abroad and Party congresses were held regularly there (1880, 1883, and 1887); in Germany, Social-Democratic underground organisations and groups headed by an illegal Central Committee were rapidly restored. Simultaneously, the Party made wide use of legal opportunities to strengthen contact with the masses, and its influence steadily grew. The number of votes cast for the Social-Democrats in the Reichstag elections increased more than threefold between 1878 and 1890.

Tremendous assistance to the German Social-Democrats was given by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The Anti-Socialist Law was repealed in 1890 as a result of pressure from the mounting mass labour movement. p. 500

[210] "*Trusted agents*"—leading workers chosen to maintain constant contact between the C.C. and the local Social-Democratic groups, and create flexible forms of leadership for local activities in the large centres of the labour movement.

The task of establishing a system of trusted agents was set by the Cracow Conference of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1913. p. 500

[211] *The Technical Commission of the Bureau Abroad of the Central Committee* (the Technical Commission Abroad—T.C.) was set up by the June Conference of members of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. at its sitting of June 1 (14), 1911, with the aim of carrying out technical functions in connection with Party publications, transport, etc. As a temporary body pending the plenary session of the C.C., the Technical Commission was subordinated to a group of C.C. members who had attended the June Conference. The T.C. consisted of one representative each from the Bolsheviks, the conciliators, and the Polish Social-Democrats. The conciliator majority on the T.C., namely, M. K. Vladimirov, supported by V. L. Leder, held up the payment of money to the Organising Commission Abroad for the Party Conference Convocation Fund, as well as appropriations for the publication of the Bolshevik newspaper *Zvezda*. They tried to hold up the publication of the Party's Central Organ—the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*. In their organ—*Information Bulletin*—the T.C. attacked Lenin and the Bolsheviks. During the discussion of the "Report" and resolutions of the Russian Organising Commission at the meeting of the T.C. on October 19 (November 1) the Bolshevik representative M. F. Vladimirsky moved a resolution accepting decisions of the Russian Organising Commission, but his proposal was rejected. Vladimirsky walked out of the Commission, and the Bolsheviks broke off all contact with it. p. 502

[212] *Russian Organising Committee* (R.O.C.) for convening the All-Russia Party Conference was set up in accordance with the decision of the June 1911 Conference of members of the R.S.D.L.P.'s Central Committee. It was constituted at the end of September at a meeting of representatives of the local Party organisations, and functioned until the opening of the Sixth (Prague), All-Russian Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. p. 502

[213] Lenin is referring to the resolution of the "February" 1913 meeting of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P.: "The Revolutionary Upswing, Strikes and Tasks of the Party", published in the pamphlet *Report and Resolutions of the Meeting of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. with Party Workers. February 1913*. Published by the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. p. 509

[214] The reference is to the shooting down of unarmed workers by the tsarist troops at the Lena gold-fields in Siberia on April 4 (17), 1912. p. 510

[215] The Social-Democratic Bolshevik organisations in the Caucasus were set up on the basis of internationalism, uniting within their ranks the advanced proletarians of different nationalities. Lenin thought very highly of the activities of the Bolshevik organisations in the Caucasus, and repeatedly held them up as an example of unity among the workers of all nations. p. 517

[216] *Strakhovanie Rabochikh* (*Workers' Insurance*)—a journal of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg from 1912 to 1918. p. 521

[217] On behalf of the German Social-Democratic Party Executive, A. Bebel wrote a letter to Lenin in February 1905, offering himself as arbiter between the supporters of the Menshevik *Iskra* and the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod*. Lenin replied "that neither he nor any other *Vperyod* supporters within his knowledge had the right to take any action binding upon the whole Party, and that Bebel's proposal would therefore have to be submitted to the Party Congress that was being called by the Russian Bureau". (See present edition, Vol. 8, p. 178.) The Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. rejected Bebel's offer. p. 535

[218] The article "*How the Workers Responded to the Formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Group In the Duma*" was written as a supplement to Lenin's work "Material on the History of the Formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Group in the Duma" reprinted in the symposium *Marxism and Liquidationism*, Part II, from the newspaper *Za Pravdu*. Lenin wrote the article in March-April 1914, and supplemented it in June with fresh material concerning money contributions to the Marxist and liquidationist newspapers handled by the Duma groups. (See p. 542 of this volume.) The article contains a number of preparatory materials. The Central Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. is in possession of Lenin's manuscript calculations of the signatures in favour of the Bolshevik Six and the Menshevik Seven, calculations of the contributions that passed through the hands of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group and the Social-Democratic group in the Duma between October 1913 and June 6 (19), 1914. p. 536

[219] "*Burenin methods of distorting the truth*"—unscrupulous polemical methods characteristic of Burenin, a contributor to the Black-Hundred monarchist newspaper *Novoye Vremya*. p. 537

[220] This refers to the Menshevik liquidators: *Enzis*—V. N. Rozanov; *Yegorov*—L. Martov (Y. O. Tsederbaum); *S. Novich*—S. I. Portugeis; *Y. Smirnov*—E. L. Gurevich; *Antid Oto*—L. Trotsky; *Nevedomsky*—M. P. Miklashevsky; *Lvov-Rogachevsky*—V. L. Rogachevsky; *Cherevanin*—F. A. Lipkin. p. 543

[221] April 22 (May 5), 1912 was the date when the first issue of the mass working-class newspaper *Pravda* appeared. In its issue No. 42, of March 21 (April 3), 1914, the newspaper Put Pravdy published an open letter by "a group of Pravdists" calling for April 22, 1914 to be proclaimed Workers' Press Day in honour of the appearance of the daily Bolshevik newspaper.

The workers in Russia responded enthusiastically to this appeal, *Pravda*'s second birthday being commemorated by the Bolsheviks with a drive towards strengthening and extending contacts between the newspaper and the working-class masses. p. 548

[222] At the end of the article there is an editorial note: "To be continued". The promised sequel, however, was not given in succeeding issues, and on July 8 (21), 1914, the paper closed down. The day after this article was published "A Correction to the Report" was given in *Trudovaya Pravda* for July 4, 1914, stating that "in yesterday's issue of the paper the article 'The Results of Worker's Press Day Summed Up' gave the figure 79 rubles 12 kopeks from the Stationery Office. This should read 133 rubles 32 kopeks." p. 555

[223] This refers to the conditions for the amalgamation of the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania with the R.S.D.L.P. adopted at the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1908 in Stockholm. p. 558

[224] *Leipziger Volkszeitung*—a German Social-Democratic daily, published from 1894 to 1933. Until World War I it was the organ of the Left-wing German Social-Democrats. For a number of years it was edited by F. Mehring. Among contributors to the paper were Rosa Luxemburg, and J. Marchlewski.

Lenin's article was published in the newspaper under the editorial heading: "An objection. Letters to the Editors", p. 558

THE LIFE AND WORK
OF
V. I. LENIN

Outstanding Dates
(*December 1913-August 1914*)

1913

October-December — Lenin's article "Critical Remarks on the National Question" published in the journal *Prosveshcheniye* Nos. 10, 11 and 12.

December 19 (January 1, 1914) — The newspaper *Proletarskaya Pravda*, issue No. 11, publishes Lenin's article "Once More About the International Socialist Bureau and the Liquidators".

December 20 (January 2, 1914) — Lenin's articles "National-Liberalism and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", "Narodism and Liquidationism as Disintegrating Elements in the Working-Class Movement" and "Comment on Kautsky's Letter" published in *Proletarskaya Pravda* No. 12.

In reply to an invitation to take part in the proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region, Lenin writes for information concerning the composition, place and time of convening the Congress.

December 25 (January 7, I914) — In a letter to the Lettish Bolsheviks Lenin poses the task of rallying them for the forthcoming Congress of the Lettish Social-Democrats.

Lenin's article "*Novoye Vremya* and *Rech* on the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" published in *Proletarskaya Pravda* No. 16.

December 26-27 (January 8-9 1914) — Lenin travels from Cracow to Berlin to meet the Lettish Bolsheviks regarding the convening of the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region.

December 27-29 (January 9-11, 1914) — In Cracow Lenin holds a meeting of members of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. on questions concerning the activities of the Bolshevik Duma group.

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January 1 (*14*)	Lenin's article "Four Thousand Rubles a Year and a Six-Hour Day" published in *Proletarskaya Pravda* No. 19.
January, prior to 5th (*18th*)	Lenin arrives in Paris.
January 5 (*18th*)	At a meeting of Bolsheviks in Paris Lenin reports on the International Socialist Bureau's intervention in the affairs of the R.S.D.L.P. with the purpose of reconciling the Bolsheviks with the Mensheviks.
January 9 (*22*)	Lenin addresses two meetings of the Social-Democrats in Paris marking the anniversary of the Ninth of January 1905.
January 10 (*23*)	In the assembly hall of the Geographical Society in Paris Lenin lectures on the subject of "The National Question".
January, prior to 12th (*25th*)	Lenin arrives in Brussels.
January 13 (*26*)	Lenin forwards to Paris edited copy for the *Bulletin of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P.* No. 1. The *Bulletin* appeared in Paris on January 28 (new style).
January 13-20 (*January 26-February 2*)	Lenin attends the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region and makes a report criticising the activities of the Central Committee of the Lettish Social-Democrats, which took an opportunist stand.
January 18 (*31*)	Lenin's article "Is a Compulsory Official Language Needed?" published in *Proletarskaya Pravda* No. 14 (32).
January 18-19 (*January 31-February 1*)	Lenin writes a brief report to Huysmans, Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, concerning the main points of difference between the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and the liquidators' Organising Committee.
January 20 (*February 2*)	In Liége Lenin delivers a lecture on "The National Question".

Between January 21 and 24 (*February 3 and 6*)	In Leipzig Lenin delivers a lecture on "The National Question".
January 24 (*February 6*)	Lenin returns to Cracow.
January 25 (*February 7*)	Issue No. 1 of the journal *Prosveshcheniye* appears with an article by Lenin entitled "The Purpose of Zemstvo Statistics", and a review of the book *Labour Protection Exhibits at the All-Russia Hygiene Exhibition in St. Petersburg in 1913*.
January 31 (*February 13*)	Lenin's article "The Liberals' Corruption of the Workers" and "Letter to the Editor" published in the newspaper *Put Pravdy* No. 9.
February 4 (*17*)	*Put Pravdy* No. 12 publishes Lenin's article "The Liquidators' Leader on the Liquidators' Terms of 'Unity'".
February 5 (*18*)	Lenin's articles "A Contribution to the History of the National Programme in Austria and in Russia" and "A Highborn Liberal Landlord on the 'New Zemstvo Russia'" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 13.
February 18 (*March 3*)	Lenin's article "Narodism and the Class of Wage-Workers" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 15.
February 20 (*March 5*)	Lenin's articles "More About 'Nationalism" and "The Peasantry and Hired Labour" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 17.
February 21 (*March 6*)	*Put Pravdy* No. 18 publishes Lenin's article "Mr. Struve on the Need to 'Reform the Government'".
February 22 (*March 7*)	Lenin's article "The Narodniks on N. K. Mikhailovsky" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 19.
February 25 (*March 10*)	Lenin's article "Concerning A. Bogdanov" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 21.
	Issue No. 2 of the journal *Prosveshcheniye* appears with an article by Lenin "Editorial Comment on Veteran's Article: 'The National Question and the Lettish Proletariat'".
February-April	Lenin draws up the plan for the symposium *Marxism and Liquidationism*, and writes the Preface and Concluding Remarks to it.

February-May	Lenin writes the article "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination".
March 1 (*14*)	Lenin's article "Political Disputes Among the Liberals" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 25.
March 2 (*15*)	Lenin's article "The 'Labouring' Peasantry and the Trade in Land" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 26.
March 6 (*19*)	*Put Pravdy* No. 29 publishes Lenin's article "What is Worrying the Liberals".
March 7 (*20*)	Lenin's article "Narodniks and Liquidators in the Trade Union Movement (A Valuable Admission)" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 30.
March 8 (*210*)	In Cracow Lenin delivers a lecture on the subject "Russian Social-Democracy and the National Question".
March 9 (*22*)	Lenin's article "Pious Wishes" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 32.
March 11 (*24*)	Lenin declines an invitation from the editors of Sovremennik to contribute to their journal, on the grounds that he does not agree with their programme. *Put Pravdy* No. 33 publishes Lenin's article "A Liberal Professor on Equality".
March 12 (*25*)	Lenin's article "The British Liberals and Ireland" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 34.
March 13 (*26*)	Issue No. 35 of *Put Pravdy* publishes Lenin's article "The Taylor System—Man's Enslavement by the Machine".
March 14 (*27*)	Lenin's article "A 'Responsible Opposition', and the Participation of the Constitutional-Democrats in the March 1 Conference" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 36.
March 15 (*28*)	Lenin's article "The Break-up of the 'August' Bloc" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 37.
March 19 (*April 1*)	Lenin forwards the draft of his "Appeal to the Ukrainian Workers" for Ocksen Lola.

March 20 (*April 2*)	Lenin's article "Capitalism and the Press" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 41.
March 22 (*April 9*)	Issue No. 3 of *Prosveshcheniye* appears with Lenin's articles "A Radical Bourgeois on the Russian Workers" and "Political Lessons".
March 28 (*April 10*)	Lenin's draft of "The National Equality Bill published in *Put Pravdy* No. 48.
March 29 (*April 11*)	*Put Pravdy* No. 49 publishes Lenin's article "Farm Labourers' Wages".
March 30 (*April 12*)	Lenin's articles "The Lettish Workers and the Split in the Social-Democratic Group in the Duma" and "The 'August' Fiction Exposed" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 50.
March	Lenin's article "Socialism Demolished Again" published in the journal *Sovremenny Mir* No. 3.
March-April	Lenin writes his article "How the Workers Responded to the Formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Group in the Duma".
April 4 (*17*)	*Put Pravdy* No. 54 publishes Lenin's article "Forms of the Working-Class Movement (The Lockout and Marxist Tactics)".
April 6 (*19*)	Lenin's article "The Left Narodniks Whitewash the Bourgeoisie" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 56.
April, after 6th (*19th*)	Lenin writes the draft of the speech "On the Question of National Policy" for the Bolshevik group in the Duma.
April 10 (*23*)	Lenin's article "Constitutional Crisis in Britain" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 57.
April 12 (*25*)	*Put Pravdy* No. 59 publishes Lenin's article "Unity".
April 15 (*28*)	Lenin's article "Organised Marxists on Intervention by the International Bureau" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 61.
April 16 (*29*)	Lenin's articles "National Equality" and "The Liquidators and the Lettish Working-Class Movement" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 62.

April 20 (*May 3*) — *Put Pravdy* No. 66 publishes Lenin's article "Serf Economy in the Rural Areas".

April 22 (*May 5*) — Lenin's article "From the History of the Workers' Press in Russia" published in the newspaper *Rabochy* No. 1.

Issue No. 4 of the journal *Prosveshcheniye* appears with Lenin's articles: "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", and "What Should Not Be Copied From the German Labour Movement", and a review of the book *Among Books* by N. A. Rubakin.

April prior to 26th (*May 9th*) — Lenin conducts a joint meeting of members of the Central Committee and of the Bolshevik Duma group to discuss participation in the Vienna Congress of the Second International and preparations for a Party congress.

April 26 (*May 9*) — Lenin moves from Cracow to Poronin.

April 29 (*May 12*) — Lenin's article "Liquidationism Defined" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 73.

May 3 (*16*) — Lenin's article "More About the Political Crisis" published in *Put Pravdy*, issue No. 76.

May 4 (*17*) — Lenin's article "The Ideological Struggle in the Working-Class Movement" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 77.

May, after 6th (*19th*) — Lenin drafts the "Bill on the Equality of Nations and the Safeguarding of the Rights of National Minorities".

May 8 (*21*) — Lenin's article "Neighbouring Squires" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 80.

May 9 (*22*) — Lenin's article "The Narodniks and 'Factional Coercion'" published in issue No. 81 of *Put Pravdy*.

May 10 (*23*) — Lenin's article "Corrupting the Workers with Refined Nationalism" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 82.

May 18 (*26*) — Lenin's articles "The Political Situation" and "Workers' Unity and Intellectualist 'Trends'" published in *Put Pravdy* No. 85.

May 14 (*27*) — Lenin's article "The Left Narodniks" published in issue No. 86 of *Put Pravdy*.

May 24 (*June 6*) — Lenin's article "Two Paths" published in the newspaper *Rabochy* No. 3.

May 25 (*June 7*) — Issue No. 4 of *Rabochy* appears containing Lenin's article "Plekhanov, Who Knows Not What He Wants".

May, prior to 28th (*June 10th*) — Lenin writes the draft of a speech on "The Estimates of the Ministry of Agriculture" for the Bolshevik group in the Duma.

May 30 (*June 12*) — Lenin's article "Unity" published in the newspaper *Trudovaya Pravda* No. 2.

June 1 (*14*) — Issue No. 5 of the journal *Prosveshcheniye* appears featuring Lenin's articles "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (continued), "A Fool's Haste Is No Speed", "Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity" and the review of I. Drozdov's book *The Wages of Farm Labourers in Russia in Connection With the Agrarian Movement in 1905-06*.

June 5 (*18*) — Lenin's article "Clarity Has Been Achieved. Class-Conscious Workers, Please Note" published in *Trudovaya Pravda* No. 7.

June 9 (*22*) — Issue No. 7 of *Rabochy* appears containing articles by Lenin "Adventurism", and "The Liquidators and the Decisions of the Lettish Marxists".

June 13 and 14 (*26 and 27*) — Lenin's article "The Working Class and Its Press" published in *Trudovaya Pravda* Nos. 14 and 15.

June 19 (*July 2*) — Lenin's article "Left-Wing Narodism and Marxism" published in *Trudovaya Pravda* No. 19.

June 22 (*July 5*) — Lenin's article "The Agrarian Question in Russia" published in *Trudovaya Pravda* No. 22.

June 23 (*July 6*) — Lenin determines the make-up of the delegation of the R.S.D.L.P.'s Central Committee to the Brussels Conference convened by the International Socialist Bureau and representing all trends in Russian Social-Democracy.

June 23-30 (*July 6-13*)	Lenin writes the Report of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Brussels Conference and Instructions to the C.C. Delegation.
June 24 (*July 7*)	Lenin's article "The Political Significance of Vituperation (On the Question of Unity)" published in *Trudovaya Pravda* No. 23.
June 26 (*July 9*)	*Trudovaya Pravda*, issue No. 25, publishes Lenin's article "Objective Data on the Strength of the Various Trends in the Working-Class Movement".
June 28 (*July 11*)	Lenin's article "How Strong Is the Left-Narodnik Trend Among the Workers" published in *Trudovaya Pravda* No. 27.
	Issue No. 6 of *Prosveshcheniye* appears featuring Lenin's articles "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (concluded), "The Bourgeois Intelligentsia's Methods of Struggle Against the Workers" and "The Vperyodists and the *Vperyod* Group".
June 29 (*July 12*)	Lenin's "Editorial Comment on Ocksen Lola's 'Appeal to the Ukrainian Workers'" published in *Trudovaya Pravda* No. 28.
June 30 (*July 13*)	Lenin sends the Report of the Central Committee, written by him, to the delegation of Bolsheviks at the Brussels Conference.
July 2 (*15*)	*Trudovaya Pravda* No. 30 publishes Lenin's article "Clarity First and Foremost! (On the Question of Unity)".
July 2 and 3 (*15 and 16*)	Lenin's article "The Results of Workers' Press Day Summed Up. From the Report Published in *Put Pravdy*" published in Nos. 30 and 31 of *Trudovaya Pravda*.
July 3-5 (*16-18*)	From Poronin (Galicia), Lenin directs the activities of the Bolshevik delegation at the Brussels Conference.
July 5 (*18*)	The symposium *Marxism and Liquidationism*, Part II, prepared by Lenin, is published.
July, after 5th (*18th*)	Lenin writes a letter to V. M. Kasparov in Berlin asking for information about revolutionary developments in Russia.

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July prior to 6ih (*19th*)	Lenin chairs a meeting of C.C. members with Party workers newly arrived from Russia concerning the activities of the Duma group and preparations for the Party congress.
July, after 6th (*19th*)	Lenin drafts the plan of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee report to the Vienna Congress.
July, after 7th (*20th*)	Lenin writes the article "The Polish Social-Democratic Opposition at the Parting of the Ways".
July 8 (*21*)	Lenin's reply to the article in *Leipziger Volkszeitung* published in issue No. 165 of that newspaper.
July 15 (*28*)	Lenin agrees to complete the article on "Karl Marx" for the Granat Encyclopaedic Dictionary.
Between July 15 and 17 (*28 and 30*)	Lenin outlines the contents of the current issue of the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*, drafts the plan of the leading article "Revolution and War", and deals with the technical details of publication (format, number of characters, etc.).
July 25 (*August 7*)	Lenin's rooms in Poronin (Galicia) are searched by Austrian authorities.
July 26 (*August 8*)	Lenin arrested in Nowy Targ (Galicia).
August 6 (*19*)	Lenin released from prison.
August 13-16 (*26-29*)	Lenin receives permission in Poronin and subsequently in Cracow to leave Austria-Hungary for Switzerland. Lenin goes to Switzerland.
August 23 (*September 5*)	Lenin arrives in Berne (Switzerland).

В. И. ЛЕНИН

СОЧИНЕНИЯ

Том 20

На английском языке